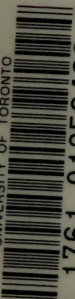
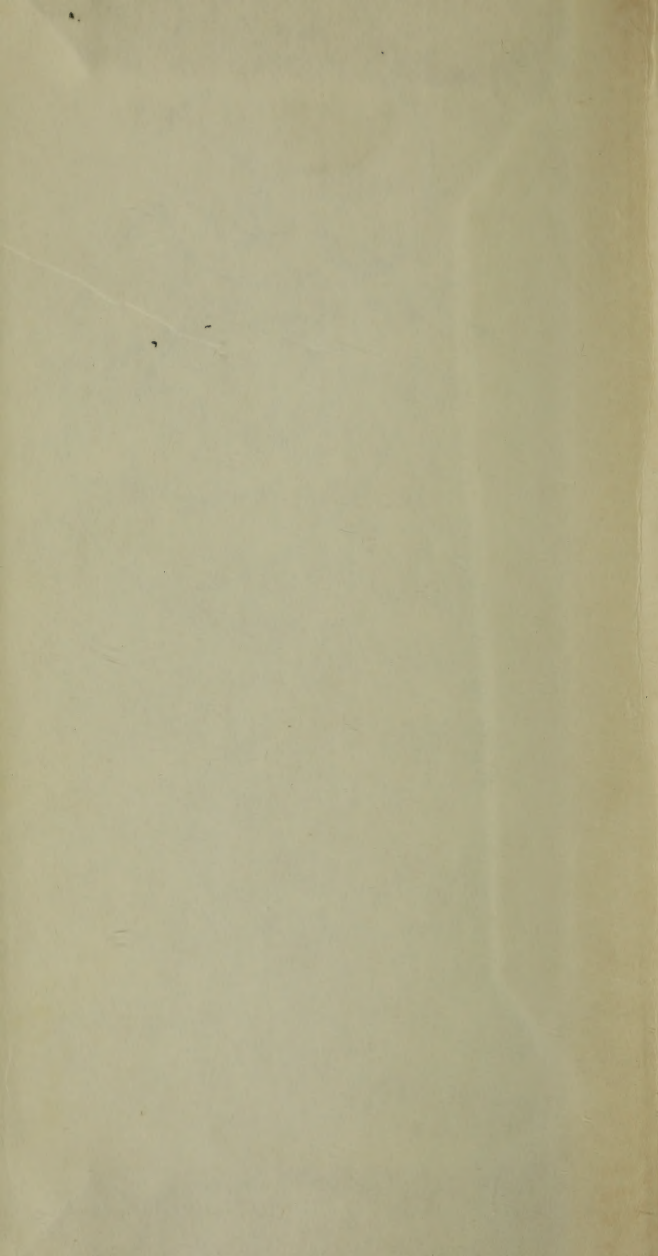


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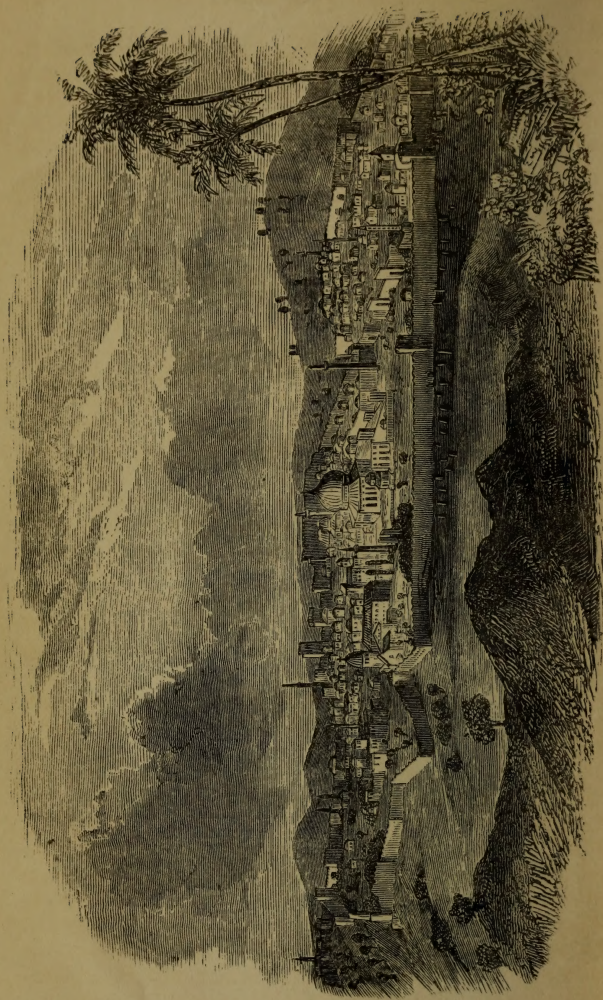






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General View of Jerusalem.



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THE  
CRUSADERS;

OR,

SCENES, EVENTS, AND CHARACTERS,

FROM THE TIMES OF

THE CRUSADES.

By THOMAS KEIGHTLEY,

AUTHOR OF HISTORIES OF GREECE, ROME, ENGLAND, AND INDIA;  
OUTLINES OF HISTORY, ETC.

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE present work, as is sufficiently indicated by its title, is not designed to be a regular history of the Crusades. It is a picture of manners rather than a narrative of events. The object proposed has been to set before the view of the reader, as clearly as the existing documents permit, the Crusaders, the Greeks, the Turks, and the Saracens, of the twelfth century, as they lived, thought, and acted. Hence there will be found much more of anecdote in the following pages than is perhaps consistent with legitimate historic narrative. Discussion has been avoided, as being unsuitable to a work of this kind, and reflections are introduced only where they seemed to be required, and presented themselves naturally. The narration, though not laying claim to the rank of history, is however consecutive; for perhaps very few readers are sufficiently familiar with the history of the Crusades to be able to understand and relish its scenes, events, and characters when presented in an unconnected form, and the interest is always best sustained by a regular succession of events.

Views of the scenes of the principal events are given, to aid the reader in forming an accurate conception of them. Though they represent the places as they now are, they hold good for the times of the Crusades, for nature and man, and the works of man, are unchangeable in the East.

It may perhaps seem to some persons, that the piety of the Christians and Mohammedans of those times is praised too highly, and their superstition treated in too gentle terms. The only reply is, that they are represented as they were; that piety, though ill-directed, may be, and in the present cases evidently was, sincere; that we should pity rather than rail at error and superstition, and when we contemplate them, feel grateful to the Author of all good for the superior degree of light which it has pleased him to bestow on us.

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THE flattering reception which the first volume of the 'CRUSADERS,' destitute of novelty as the subject might appear to be, has met with, causes the appearance of the present volume, which like the former embraces the space of about half a century. In this the narrative is carried down to the taking of Jerusalem by Sultan Saladin, and terminates with the crusade headed by Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion. At this point also the work concludes. It was not designed to be a complete history

## PREFACE.

of the Crusades, and the writer therefore considered himself at liberty to stop wherever he deemed it most convenient.

It cannot be regarded as presumption in the writer to say, that he is convinced that the Crusades and the Crusaders will be better known from these volumes than from Mr. Mill's History of the Crusades, or any of the other works on the subject in our language. It is also hoped, that they will be instrumental in correcting the erroneous ideas given by those writers who have made the Crusades the theme of their romances.

There are two modern works to which the author has to acknowledge his obligations. These are Raumer's most valuable *Geschichte der Hohenstauffen*, and the *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* of the 'all-exhausting' Wilken. To the former he was much indebted in his account of the First Crusade, particularly for the pontiff's speech and the graphic and accurate description of Antioch and of the mosk of Omar; the latter, by its fulness and accuracy, has saved him much labour in consulting the original authorities. The fourth volume of Michaud's *Bibliothèque des Croisades* furnished most of the Oriental materials employed.

*April 2nd, 1834.*

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The present [fourth] edition has been most carefully revised and corrected. Additions, chiefly of a topographical character, have been made to it, and the chronology has been put at the top of each page for the reader's convenience. It is now perhaps as free from defects as a work of the kind well can be, and it is hoped will maintain its character as a correct and faithful picture of the times which it describes.

T. K.

*August 17th, 1852.*



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# THE CRUSADERS.

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## THE FIRST CRUSADE.

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### INTRODUCTION.

IT is pleasant, and it is profitable, to view the power and the wisdom of the Deity in the natural world. It is equally pleasant, and more profitable, to contemplate these attributes in their operation on the actions and destinies of man. Hence arise the dignity and the utility of history. But history, to produce this high moral effect, must be viewed universally, and not partially; we must not dwell on the petty intrigues of courts and cabinets, or minute details of national history, or military operations in wars caused by ambition alone. We must from time to time ascend some moral eminence, and behold the various tribes and nations which occupy the face of the earth in their internal state, and their action and re-action on each other. Then shall we behold harmony resulting from apparent discord, and divine wisdom operating where at first we discerned only human folly.

It is with this view that we have selected, for our present subject, the period of the Crusades, those romantic and, in the eyes of heartless and sceptical philosophy, wild and foolish expeditions of the warlike nations of the West, to conquer and retain the land in which the Son of God had run his earthly career. We view it as a period presenting some of the most extraordinary phenomena that the world has ever witnessed,—a period full with the names and deeds of mighty men, and events and revolu-

tions whose effects are felt even at the present day. It is, further, a period of which no adequate and satisfactory account exists in our own language, and around the early part of which the genius of one of the greatest of modern poets\* has cast such a blaze of romantic splendour, that the eyes of even the soberest inquirers after historic truth are occasionally dazzled. To dispel illusion, and set before the reader the Crusaders as they lived, thought, and acted, is our object.

The birth of Christ, independent of its effect on the spiritual concerns of man, seems to have been, as it were, the signal for mighty changes in the moral and political condition of the world. History, previous to this important event, offers to view nothing of great and permanent effect on mankind in their political relations, but the conquest of the East by Alexander the Great. But coeval with the appearance of our Lord was the formation and the reduction beneath the power of one, of an empire, whose extent has only once been equalled. Three great events have since occurred to alter the moral face of the earth; the first, the great migration of the Gotho-Germanic and Sarmatian races of men, which overturned the empire of Rome, introduced new manners and habits, and eventually diffused Christianity to the remotest bounds of the earth; the second, the expeditions of which we write, which extended and enlarged the intercourse of nations, and led to our present social system; the third, the discovery of the New World, and of the passage to India, which have 'in unbounded commerce mixed the world,' and spread the noblest portion of mankind over the entire face of the earth. These three events are all linked together in the chain of cause and effect, but it is not our present purpose to trace the connection; we are only called upon to sketch the state of the world at the time when the Crusades began.

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\* Torquato Tasso, in his *Jerusalem Delivered*. As we proceed we shall refer to this poem, and the translations of Fairfax, Wiffen, or Smith, may be used by the reader.

## STATE OF THE EAST.

THE seventh century of the Christian era was witness of a great and sudden change in the moral and political condition of the East. It is marked by the appearance of Mohammed (*Illustrious\**), the Prophet of God, as he is styled by those who profess his religion.

It is not our intention to become the panegyrists of the Prophet, but truth compels us to acknowledge that he possessed many great and noble qualities; and we might in charity believe, that, born as he was in the midst of idolatry, with the whole world lying in darkness around him, the Light-Religion† of Persia (by far the purest system of unrevealed religion) sunk and degraded, the Mosaic law become a burdensome and puerile superstition, and even Christianity itself nearly lost beneath the weight of false philosophy and abject idolatry—he may have been sincere in the first enunciation of the sublime sentence on which his religious system rests, *There is no God but God*.

But be this as it may, there is no doubt but that as soon as victory smiled on the banners of the Prophet in his first military encounters, his political horizon widened, and he aspired to triumphs of which at his outset he could not even have dreamed. Then was promulgated the maxim that the faith was to be spread by the sword; the enthusiasm of his followers was exalted by the assurance, that a night spent on guard was of more value in the sight of God, than sixty years passed in prayer; flight on the day of conflict rendered valueless all former good actions; the highest rewards of Paradise were reserved for the martyrs, *i. e.* those who fell in battles waged for the extension of the faith; and such a Paradise as the artful Prophet presented to the glowing imagination of his Arabs! Its blissful regions were, he assured them,

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\* We will, as we go along, translate such Oriental names as are significant.

† The ancient Persians believed in two principles, one good, the other evil, named Ormuzd and Ahriman; the former they represented as dwelling in light, the latter in darkness. Ormuzd was the object of love, Ahriman of aversion. Light and fire were the symbols before which they worshiped the good being.

filled with all that could give delight to the senses; instead of parched and arid sands, their eyes would there rest on verdant meads, through which translucent rivulets murmured over beds whose pebbles were diamonds, rubies, and emeralds; there they would recline in tents, each formed of a single pearl, on cushions and carpets of the richest texture, and feed on meats served up on dishes of gold and precious stones, by angelic attendants of surpassing beauty; seventy of the maids of Paradise, named Hoories, with eyes black as those of the antelope, and stature straight and graceful as the cypress, attired in robes of eye-delighting green, should be assigned to each of the blessed as his celestial spouses, and the air of Paradise would resound for ever with the melodious voice of the angel, whose office it was to sing the praises of God. With such a reward in view, of the truth of which he entertained not the shade of a doubt, need we wonder that the Arab warrior smiled at death, and saw life depart with exultation? and that feats of heroism almost passing belief were achieved?

At the death of the Prophet, the whole of Arabia obeyed his law, and in the short space of three-and-thirty years from his first assumption of arms, the Arabian dominion was extended from the Atlantic to the Indus, from the Straits of Babelmandeb to the confines of Tartary. Martial energy was departed from the Greeks and Persians, and they offered but a feeble resistance to the sons of the desert. When the Straits of Gades were crossed, the degenerate West-Goths showed equal want of energy. Spain was conquered with rapidity; the barrier of the Pyrenees was passed, and the arms of the Arabs reached the Loire. But on the field of Tours, Christian Europe was saved by an army of Germans, and a victory, in its consequences resembling those of Salamis and Plataea, rescued the religion and manners of the West from Asiatic influence.

In spite of reason, we always take pleasure in following the career of victory; the mind feels elated by the contemplation of energy in action, and our moral sense is condemned to silence for the time. But there is an agreeable feature in the narration of the Arabian con-



quests, which lessens our horror of the bloodshed and misery attendant on war—they were not sanguinary. The Arab is by nature averse from blood, and little disposed to cruelty. Hence few acts of atrocity stain the early annals of Arabian empire, and we can follow the warriors from victory to victory without having our feelings outraged by details of savage ferocity.\* All was honourable warfare; the choice of the Korân, the tribute, or the sword, was given to every people whom they attacked. If they accepted the first, they were received as brethren in the faith; if the second, they became subjects; if they tried the third without success, they still had their option of the former two.

The religion given by Mohammed to Arabia was named Islâm (*Resignation*, sc. to the Divine will), whence those who hold it are called Moslems by the Arabs, Mussulmâns by the Persians. It was contained in a book named the Korân (*Reading*), which the Prophet asserted had been brought down from heaven by the angel Gabriel. Beside the moral duties with which no religion can dispense, it enjoined prayer at the appointed hours, almsgiving, fasting in the month Ramazan, and, if possible, a pilgrimage to the Kaaba, or holy house, at Mecca. The confession of faith of the Moslem is, *There is no God but God, and Mohammed is his Prophet*.

The Khaleefeh,† that is, Successor of the Prophet, was alike the temporal and the spiritual head of the empire. He led the troops to victory; he dispensed justice; and every Friday he preached and prayed publicly in the mosk. The first four khaleefehs, Aboo Bekr, Othman, Omar, and Ali, were freely elected by the people. Moawiyah, a descendant of the prophet's uncle Ommiyah, having murdered the sons of Ali, seized on the supreme dignity, and his family retained it for a space of ninety years. The seat of their dominion was Damascus. The staff and mantle of the Prophet (the symbols of supremacy) were wrested from them by the family of Abbas;

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\* In the subsequent narrative we shall have frequent occasion to mark the difference in this respect between the Arabs and the Turks.

† This, and not *khalif* or *caliph*, is the proper Arabic term.

and Bagdad, on the Tigris, then became the seat of empire.

The dismemberment of the Arabian empire now commenced. Abd-er-Rahman (*Servant of the Merciful*), an Ommiyade, escaped to Spain, and was there acknowledged as the rightful khaleefeh, and reigned at Cordova. Ali having been the cousin of the Prophet, and having espoused Fatima, his only child, his posterity were by many regarded as having the best right to the khaleefate; and a real or pretended descendant of his, taking advantage of this feeling, established an independent state on the north coast of Africa. His dynasty, named the Fatimites, afterwards made the conquest of Egypt and Syria. They reigned at Cairo, and were the inveterate foes of the khaleefehs of Bagdad, each representing the others as heretics and schismatics.

Like all possessed of uncontrolled power, the Abbasside and Fatimite khaleefehs rapidly degenerated. The latter became mere puppets in the hands of their viziers,\* or ministers. The former, to emancipate themselves from a similar state of thralldom, invoked the aid of Toghrul, the son of Seljuk, chief of a Turkish tribe beyond the Oxus, which had embraced the Moslem faith. Toghrul obeyed the call, and the temporal power was conferred on him by the Abbasside khaleefeh. Himself, his nephew, Alp Arslân (*Strong Lion*), and grand-nephew, Malek Shâh (*King-king*), extended their conquests westwards; they wrested from the unwarlike Greeks Room, *i. e.* Asia Minor; and the feeble Fatimites were unable to withhold Syria from their grasp.†

Such was the state of the East at the close of the eleventh century. We will now exhibit that of the West.

#### STATE OF THE WEST.

WHEN all the conquests made by the arms of the Roman Republic had become united under the dominion of one, and a despotism similar to those of the

\* Properly *wezeer*; it signifies a porter or bearer of burdens,—a very apt name for a minister of state. From *el-wezeer* the Spaniards have made *alguacil*.

† The subjects of the Fatimite khaleefehs in Egypt and Syria were called Saracens. The reader will bear in mind the difference between them and the Turks.



East had been established, all motives to emulation and virtuous exertion being withdrawn, the progress of degeneracy was rapid. Military virtue, which rarely exists, unless in conjunction with simple manners, or sustained by a sense of glory and a pride of country, was no longer to be found in the empire; and the hardy tribes, which poured down in a deluge from the forests of Germany and the north, speedily made themselves masters of the entire of the western empire of Rome, whose religion they embraced, and whose manners they mingled with their own.

Europe, north of the mountain-range of the Alps and Pyrenees, has, from time immemorial, been the abode of two races of men, of different character and of different appearance; these are the Celts, who occupied Gaul and Britain, and the Gotho-Germans, who dwelt from the Alps to the utmost limits of the North.

The Celtic race have always exhibited proofs of mental inferiority; as such, we may regard their want of perseverance in action, their humble submission to the arbitrary rule of their chiefs, and their blind obedience to a sacerdotal caste somewhat similar to those of the East. Hence it was in Gaul, that previous to the conquest of the Franks, the ministers of the corrupt form of Christianity which then prevailed first attained to an injurious degree of power, occupying, in fact, the place of the former Druids.

The character of the German race was the reverse of all this; energy in action, love of liberty, a strong but not slavish sense of religion, have at all times distinguished them; at the present day they alone may be said to hold pure Christianity, and all that is good in the Celtic portion of Europe is derived from them. But as it was from the Celts that the principal part of this race received their first knowledge of Christianity, they imbibed much of the slavish superstition of their teachers, to which they united a martial element derived from their former heathen system.

The bishop of Rome had, in consequence of the ancient dignity of the city where he had his seat, naturally exercised a considerable degree of influence over the Western

church. In Italy he gradually acquired temporal power, and his chief opponents being the Lombard monarchs in that country, he cast his eyes beyond the Alps, where the mayors of the palace of the Frank princes had dethroned their feeble masters, and sought the aid of the rising dynasty. Pepin and his son, Charles the Great, hearkened to the call of the supreme pontiff, the Lombard dominion ceased to exist, and Charles was crowned by the pope emperor of the West. It thenceforth became the practice that the emperor should be crowned by the bishop of Rome, and the election of the latter not be valid till it had received the Imperial approbation. The feeble successors of Charlemagne gradually lost their vantage ground; but when Germany was separated from France, the energetic princes of the House of Saxony exercised their power in all its plenitude, and made and unmade popes at their pleasure. These emperors put forth all the claims to dominion derived from Charlemagne, and asserted their right to all the powers possessed by the former emperors of Rome.

The popes continued long the obedient servants of the emperors, and for a time the papal and imperial power were united in the correction of abuses in the church. But the former was gradually gathering strength: the degree of liberty given by the emperor Otho the Great to the inferior vassals, the inhabitants of the towns in Italy, had fostered a republican spirit in them, and they naturally regarded the pope as their ally and supporter in the projects which they meditated of freeing themselves from the imperial control. The Normans, too, who, by extraordinary valour and artifice, had established a state in the south of Italy, equally suspicious of the claims of the emperors of the East and of the West, agreed to receive their possessions as a fief from the Holy See, and to become its vassals. It only remained for an energetic head of the church, and a feeble head of the empire, to co-exist, for the conflict to begin between the two powers. In the very middle of the eleventh century, the conditions of this problem were fulfilled.

The energetic emperor Henry III. died in the year 1056, leaving his son Henry IV. a child of but six years

old. The animating spirit of the church at this time was the archdeacon Hildebrand, the greatest man of his age, a man worthy to rank with the greatest of any age. During Henry's minority, owing to the ill conduct of his guardians, the imperial power declined in consequence, and the bad education which he received rendered him little fit to revive it. In the year 1073, Hildebrand placed himself, by the title of Gregory VII., on the papal throne, whose policy he had directed for the thirty preceding years.

The constitution of the church, which had been aristocratic, was now become monarchic. There were in Europe two great monarchs, the emperor and the pope, and the world would not bear two suns—one must be subordinate. Temporal dominion, said the advocates of the papacy, began with violence, and by violence it must end if not sustained by a higher power. But this power, a theocracy, had been commenced by Christ on earth, and could only be continued by his representatives, the popes. The dominion of the church rests on the divinity of its doctrines; it alone is pure from earthly stain; it, embracing the present and the future, extends to all the relations of life. Happy the state of man when truth and unerring wisdom would thus take the place of human infirmity and vice, and rule the world with a sceptre of righteousness!

It would be uncandid to deny the moral beauty and sublimity of this theory, and doubtless there were numbers of the laity, as well as of the clergy, who, weary of the turbulence and violence which then prevailed, viewed this reign of Christ with hope and joyful anticipation! But alas! the popes, too, were but men, and experience has amply confirmed the saying of our Lord, "My kingdom is not of this world;" the heart of man is *His* palace, piety and virtue are the supporters of his throne.

Yet out of evil evermore is educes good, and conflict developes the powers and the high qualities of man. Had either emperor or pope triumphed, there would have been a succession of feeble despots uniting the two sceptres, like the khaleefehs of the East, and Europe would have stagnated and sunk into imbecility. But this contest

awakened all the energies of man, and eventually led to the reformation of religion.

Though Gregory sought the emperor's confirmation of his own election, he had in the case of his immediate predecessors established the principle that this consent was not requisite. The gross simony that was practised, especially in Germany, where ecclesiastical dignities were set up to public auction, first called the attention of the vigilant pontiff. Henry promised amendment, but things went on as before. The pope then commanded that no layman should give the *investiture* of any spiritual office; thus at once drawing to himself the whole spiritual patronage of the Christian world. This claim was stoutly resisted by the lay princes, whose interests it affected, and one of Gregory's successors was obliged to end the matter by a compromise.

The next step taken by the pontiff for the emancipation of the church, was to enjoin, in conformity to ancient canons, the strict celibacy of the clergy. The scandalous incontinence of the clergy was the pretext; the pope and the wiser sort saw that men cut off from the charities of life would be the zealous supporters of the claims of their order and its head. Against this the married clergy and their friends loudly reclaimed; but the laity in general, who are forward enough to require nearly impossible virtue from their spiritual guides, and who saw the enormity of the present evil, but could not discern the consequences of the proposed remedy, took the side of the pope. They compelled such priests as had concubines to put them away, and would not make confession to those who were married.

It is not necessary to pursue the contest between Gregory and Henry. Though the former was driven to die in exile at Salerno,\* and Henry placed a rival pope in his stead at Rome, the tone was given to the papal policy, and each succeeding pontiff conscientiously deemed it his sacred duty to carry into effect the plans

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\* "I have loved justice, and hated iniquity, therefore do I die in exile," were the last words of Gregory. No one who studies the life of this extraordinary man can doubt of his sincerity, but sincerity is no test of truth or wisdom.



of Gregory for the extension of the sacerdotal dominion; but the church remained for some time in a divided state, and the imperial and the church party had each their pope.

The feudal system was at this time in its full vigour. William the Conqueror had introduced it into England, and the Normans had established it in southern Italy.

The Hungarians were become Christians, and the Christian dominions in Spain were extended to the Tagus, and the mountains of Castile. In the wars of the Iberian peninsula the warriors of the West had learned to consider the bearing of arms against the Moslems as a sacred duty.

The Comnenian family, who now filled the throne of the Eastern empire, had difficulty to defend it against the Seljukian Turks and the Normans of Italy. The present Emperor Alexius was a man of capacity and talent.

Trade and commerce flourished in the free towns of Italy more than at any period since the time of the Romans.

#### PILGRIMAGE.

**PILGRIMAGE**, or the resorting to places of reputed sanctity, has at all times formed a part of the occupation of man. The ancient Greek repaired to Delphi, or Delos; the Hindoo devotee annually journeys to Juggernaut; the Moslem, to Mecca; the Catholic has in every country some sacred spot to which he directs his steps when seeking the favour of Heaven. The original cause of pilgrimage is the simple fact, that the actual view of objects gives greater vividness to the ideas associated with them; the usual impelling cause is the erroneous notion that the Deity may be more easily propitiated in one place than in another.

The region named the Holy Land, which God of old selected as the abode of his chosen people, was ever hallowed in the eyes of the descendants of Israel. The spot where the ark of the covenant abode had a peculiar sanctity, and it was the duty of the people to resort to it thrice in each year. The city of Jerusalem thus acquired a character of superior holiness, and, when the

nation was dispersed, it was still regarded as the duty of pious Israelites to journey from afar, to worship within its sacred precincts. Thus pilgrimage to the Holy Land became an established practice among the dispersed of Israel.

The early Christians, who were Jews, retained this feeling of veneration for the Holy Land, augmented by the knowledge of its having witnessed the life and miracles, the death and resurrection of the Saviour of the world. This feeling they communicated to the heathen converts, and Jerusalem thus came to be as sacred in the eyes of the Christian as of the Israelite. When the Emperor Constantine was become a convert, a stately temple rose by his command over the holy sepulchre, and his mother Helena made a pilgrimage thither, during which she found what was said to be the cross on which our Lord expired.

As the number of Christians increased, the ardour for pilgrimage grew more strong, and numbers annually flocked to the Holy City. It was in vain that some of the most distinguished of the Fathers sought to check this practice by assuring the faithful that God did not require this service, that Christ was in every place where there were faith and good works. These ideas were too pure and spiritual for those who hoped to gain heaven without renouncing sin, and the writings of some eminent Fathers give a sad picture of the morals of many of those who visited Jerusalem to worship at the tomb of their Saviour.

Nothing could be more agreeable to the adventurous temper of the barbarians, when they embraced the Christian religion, than the practice of pilgrimage, which now greatly increased. Houses for the accommodation of pilgrims, erected by the piety of princes or private persons, were soon to be seen in every great town; on the summits of steep mountains, or on the banks of streams over which no bridge led, were raised inns in which the weary wanderer found refreshment and repose; itineraries were drawn up which directed the steps of the pious from the most remote West to the banks of the Jordan, and amidst the ravages of war the pilgrim's habit was a protection.



But it was not merely the favour of Heaven that was to be secured by visiting the Holy Land; honour and consideration awaited the pilgrim at home. When any one, grieved for his sins, warned by a dream, urged by curiosity, or moved by any other of the motives then in operation, resolved on a pilgrimage, he was by the priest of his parish solemnly arrayed in the pilgrim's frock, the scarf,\* from which hung his wallet, was laid on his shoulder, and the staff, after being consecrated with prayer, placed in his hand. He was attended to the bounds of the parish by the whole community, and dismissed with blessings and prayers for his safe return. Having accomplished his pilgrimage, he went publicly to the church, gave thanks aloud to God for the protection he had vouchsafed him, and placed in the hands of the priest, to be deposited on the altar, a branch of palm plucked in the garden of Abraham at Jericho.† Henceforth he was regarded as a person of superior sanctity, and wherever he went he excited admiration, by the narrative of the toils he had undergone, and the wonders he had beheld.

The powerful principle of gain was soon added to the motives to pilgrimage. The natural and laudable feeling of respect for those who had led a life of piety, or sealed their faith with their blood in times of persecution, quickly degenerated into an idolatrous reverence, not merely of their memory, but of their relics, which now became essential to the sanctity of every church that was founded. Relics brought from the Holy Land were, of course, most in repute, and those connected with our Lord himself were justly held in highest estimation. The demand was so great, and the supply so constant, that it is no breach of charity to suppose that the clergy of Jerusalem, when the stock of the reputed real ones was exhausted, scrupled not to palm counterfeits on their Western brethren; and hence probably it is that the pieces of the *True Cross* possessed by various churches and convents, would, as has been said, yield timber enough to build a church.

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\* In French *écharpe*, whence the wallet itself came to be called a *scrip*.

† Hence a pilgrim who had been to the Holy Land was called a *palmer*.

The wealthy pilgrim, by purchasing relics and bestowing them on his return on some church or abbey, could obtain the prayers of the pious brotherhood for himself and family, and the character of a benefactor; the poor pilgrim, by laying out a portion of the money, given to him in charity, in a little venture of relics, was sure to obtain a large return for his capital, by selling them to the founder of some new church or convent. Relics also coming to be esteemed a kind of amulets, potent to secure against the assaults of the Evil One, the laity became large purchasers, especially of the smaller sort; for though the thigh-bone of a saint might be too cumbersome, a joint of his finger, or one of his toe-nails, might be carried without inconvenience. Relics actually now became a regular article of commerce, and traders from the East annually visited the West with cargoes of these holy wares.

The seaports of France and Italy carried on an extensive commerce with Egypt and Syria; for the spices, silks, and precious stones of the East, were eagerly sought after by the barbarians of the West. Their shipping offered an easy mode of conveyance to the Holy Land, and thus excited to pilgrimage. Women were often among the pilgrims, and many persons who preferred a life of idle rambling to honest industry, assumed the pilgrim's dress, and went from shrine to shrine, living on the charity of the devout; for though the Holy Land was highest in estimation, pilgrimage was not confined to it; every spot that could boast of a relic attracted the visits of the faithful.

Jerusalem was one of the earliest conquests of the Moslems, but the tolerance of the first khaleefehs threw no impediment in the way of the Christian pilgrim, and those of the house of Ommiyah departed not from their example. Jerusalem was also holy in the eyes of the followers of Islâm, and the Christian pilgrim who visited the tomb of Christ, and the Moslem who came to worship at the mosk of Omar, erected on the site of the temple, met within the same precincts. As the East has always united commerce with religion, a great fair was annually held at Jerusalem, on the 15th of September (the day

after the feast of the *Invention of the Cross*), to which traders resorted from all parts of the East and of the West.

The policy of the Abbasside khaleefehs was similar. The celebrated Haroon-er-Rasheed (*Aaron the Upright*) was the friend of Charlemagne, whom he presented with the keys of Jerusalem. The munificent emperor of the West caused an abode for pilgrims to be erected there, furnished with a library, and surrounded with cornfields and vineyards, in the valley of Jehoshaphat. Near the brook of Siloa was the cemetery of the Latin pilgrims; it was planted with fruit-trees, and amid the graves of the departed were the cells of pious anchorites—a union of life and death, in which the Roman Catholic Church has always delighted.

When Jerusalem fell into the hands of the Fatimite khaleefehs, these monarchs were too prudent to impede a practice which annually brought money to their coasts. They even permitted the traders of Amalfi to build at Jerusalem a church and convent in honour of the Virgin, and afterwards to add to them a nunnery, dedicated to Mary Magdalen. This tolerance was only interrupted by the mad freaks of the notorious Khaleefeh Hakîm, who levelled with the ground all the sacred edifices of the Christians; but they were afterwards restored, and everything went on as before.

The eleventh century witnessed pilgrimage at its height. It was believed that the thousand years of the Apocalypse were now expired, that the end of the world was at hand, and the Son of man would come to judge mankind in the valley of Jehoshaphat; and numbers crowded to the Holy Land to meet their divine Master. Though these expectations were not verified, the impulse given to pilgrimage still continued to operate. It was no longer a mere trading pilgrim, a pious vagabond, a poor contrite sinner, a bishop, abbot, or monk, who would acquire a character for superior sanctity, that visited the Holy Sepulchre; princes, barons, knights, even ladies of noble birth, now sought the hallowed walls of Jerusalem, and an armed train frequently attended their pilgrimage. The Moslems sought to derive a revenue from this influx

of Western pilgrims, and a *byzant*\* of gold became the fee of admission at the gates of the Holy City. This proved no check; and the church having adopted the practice of imposing a pilgrimage by way of penance on sinners, crowds of pilgrims disembarked each year in the ports of Syria, or came by land over the mountains and plains of Lesser Asia.

A narrative of the pilgrimage made by Robert duke of Normandy, the father of William the Conqueror, will serve to illustrate the manners of the age, and the mode of performing pilgrimage.

When the Norman duke resolved, in expiation of his sins, to visit the Holy Land as a pilgrim, he settled the affairs of his duchy, and took his son William, whom he designed for his successor, to Paris, and made him do homage to the king, Henry I. He then set out for the East, attended by a large train of barons, knights, and others, going barefoot like any simple pilgrim, clad in the pilgrim habit, bearing his wallet and staff. On coming to any town, he made his train go in first; he followed by himself, meekly enduring the scoffs and insults of the rabble. In a town near Besançon, when the pilgrims were in the morning going out at the gates, a brutal porter gave the duke a blow on the back with a stick. His attendants would have punished the offence with death, but the duke said, "Nay, for a pilgrim must suffer for the love of God;" adding, that he valued more the blow that had been given him, than the best city he possessed.

In this manner he passed through Burgundy, Provence, and Lombardy. At Rome, as was the custom, he received a cross from the pope. He thence proceeded to Constantinople, where his piety and his liberality won him the favour of all ranks of the people. He refused the presents offered him by the emperor, and insisted on paying for everything he received. To overcome his delicacy, the emperor gave orders that no one should sell wood to the pilgrims; but Robert directed his attendants

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\* The byzant, (improperly spelt *bezant*,) so named from Byzantium, the ancient name of Constantinople, was worth about 9s. 4½d.



to purchase nuts, and dress their food with the shells, and thus eluded the emperor's generosity.

Falling sick on his journey through Asia Minor, he had himself borne in a litter by Saracens, and when a Norman pilgrim whom he met, asked if he had any message to send home, he said, "Tell my people that thou hast met me with devils carrying me to Paradise." He gave some money to the pilgrim, who went on his way laughing at the reply of his duke.

At the gate of the Holy City, he found a number of poor pilgrims, who could not obtain admittance for want of the requisite fee; Robert paid a byzant for each, and they preceded his entrance. The Moslems admired his piety, and the emir of the town caused all the money to be returned to him. The duke instantly divided it among the poor and his train, and gave rich presents to the Moslems. Death overtook Robert on his return, at Nicæa, in Bithynia. The relics which he had collected were brought to Normandy, and deposited in the monastery of Cerisy, which he had founded.

Caravans of pilgrims, to the amount of several thousands, repaired now to the Holy Land, and from their numbers they derived the title of "The Armies of the Lord." On their way they encountered many dangers, but none awaited them at the Holy City.

But when the Turks under Tûtûsh, the brother of Malek Shâh, conquered Syria to the borders of Egypt, the pilgrims began to experience indignities unknown before at the hands of these rude and fanatical barbarians. Jerusalem and its district were assigned to a rugged chief, named Orthok, and his followers loaded the Christians with every species of insult. The barbarous Turks would rush with loud cries and yells into the church when they were at their devotions, jump upon the altar, throw the sacred vessels about, break the marble pillars and images, and beat and abuse the priests. They exacted the fees for entrance with far greater rigour than the Saracens had ever done; thousands of poor pilgrims lay without the gates, unable to obtain admission. As these returned home they filled all Europe with accounts of the profanation of the holy places, and the miseries to be en-

duced by the faithful in their visits to the tomb of their Saviour.

### PETER THE HERMIT.

WHILE such was the condition of the Holy City, a pilgrimage was undertaken thither by the man who was destined to be the instrument to rouse the nations of the West to achieve its deliverance from the yoke of the misbelievers.

Peter, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, had early embraced the military life, but not finding it to accord with his temper, he had abandoned it, and retiring to a hermitage in the south of France, devoted himself to the practice of religious austerities. He renounced the use of flesh-meat and bread, but with his food he allowed himself the indulgence of wine. The enthusiasm of his character was thus sustained by his mode of life. The people regarded him as a saint. Though his form was meagre, and his stature low and mean, the gleam of excited imagination which flashed from his eyes, and the floods of rapturous eloquence which gushed from his lips, enchained the heart and fixed the attention.

In the year 1093, Peter, to augment his sanctity or indulge his piety, made a pilgrimage to the Holy City. He viewed with horror the barbarity of the Turks and the sufferings of the faithful. The desire and the hope of effecting the deliverance of the daughter of Zion rose in his bosom; he sought the patriarch, the venerable Simeon, and they mingled their tears as they bemoaned the common calamity. "The sins of the oriental Christians," said Simeon, "have made nought their power; the Greeks have, within these few years, lost half their empire; our only hope lies in the strength and piety of the nations of the West." The enthusiasm of the hermit broke forth, and he offered his aid. "I send thee, then," said the patriarch, "as the envoy of the church of Jerusalem to her daughter in the West, to entreat of her pity and aid for her unhappy parent." The anchorite accepted the commission, and received letters for the pope and potentates of the West.

Even Heaven itself seemed to the heated imagination



of the hermit to interpose in his mission. As in the evening he poured forth his soul in prayer, in the church of the Resurrection, to God and the Saints, to prosper his undertaking, sleep came over his weary frame, and in a dream Christ appeared to him, and said, "Arise, Peter, haste, and do boldly what thou hast undertaken. I will be with thee, for the time is come that the sanctuary should be cleansed and my people holpen." He awoke full of vigour, went and told his dream to the patriarch, and hastened to Antioch to embark for Italy.

This dream of the hermit has been by many regarded as a pious fraud; for our part, we are disposed to view it as a reality. There is nothing in the character of Peter which should lead us to look on him as a hypocrite, but he was a man constitutionally timid, with a very excitable imagination. To such a man, when, overwhelmed with the magnitude of the task he had assumed, and exhausted by fasting and the fervour of devotion, he sank in sleep, nothing was more natural than the appearance of such a dream as we have related. Ill is he qualified to enter into the spirit of the crusades, who discerns falsehood and imposture at every step!

#### PREACHING OF THE HERMIT.

PETER landed at Bari in Apulia. Without loss of time he hastened to Rome and placed in the hands of the Pope, Urban II., the letter of the Patriarch. Urban approved of his project, and gave him letters from himself to all Christian princes. The hermit, thus furnished with credentials, traversed Italy; he crossed the Alps, and visited all parts of France. Mounted on a mule, his head and feet bare, his coarse pilgrim's garment bound round him with a cord, and a crucifix in his hand, he went from province to province, and town to town. He confined his addresses not to the great alone, he harangued the assembled people; he set before them, with all the fire of eloquence, the sufferings of the pious pilgrims, the profanation of the holy places; he told them how the Saviour had deigned to appear to him personally; he read to them the letters of the patriarch, and other Christians; he even, it is said, showed them one,

which had fallen from heaven. The benevolence of the pious loaded the hermit with gifts ; these he bestowed on the poor, or employed in providing husbands for women who renounced a sinful course of life. Wherever he came he preached peace and concord, and his words found obedience as coming from God. Wherever he went he was regarded as a saint, and the very hairs that fell from his mule were preserved as relics.

#### COUNCIL OF CLERMONT.

A COUNCIL was meantime assembled by the pope at Piacenza, which was so numerous attended that it could not as usual be holden in a church, and a field was the scene of deliberation. Ambassadors appeared from the Greek emperor, who portrayed the power and ferocity of the Turks, and the peril of the empire, and implored the aid of the Latin Christians. The pope supported their prayer, and a large number of those present swore to march to the aid of Alexius against the infidels.

But Italy was not the place where a spirit of holy enthusiasm could be best excited. The feudal principle was not strong in that country, the imperial party was numerous, and commerce in the East had taught the people to view the Moslems with less abhorrence than was felt by those who only knew them by fame. Urban therefore resolved to make France, of which country he was a native, the scene of his greatest efforts.

In the year 1095 the pope crossed the Alps. Having holden councils at Puy and other places to prepare the clergy, he appointed the eighth day after the festival of St. Martin (the 11th Nov.) for the meeting of a general council at Clermont in Auvergne, whither the clergy were commanded to repair under the penalty of the loss of their benefices. More than three hundred prelates and abbots obeyed the summons of the pontiff, and the number of the inferior clergy was proportionably great ; the attendance of the laity was immense. The town of Clermont sufficed not to contain within its walls the prelates, princes, ambassadors, and nobles, who crowded thither, "so that," says an old chronicler, "toward the middle of

the month of November the towns and villages around were all filled with people, and many were obliged to pitch their tents in the meads and fields, though the season and the country were full of extreme cold."

When the ordinary business of the council had been gone through, and the Truce of God\* had been again enjoined, the pontiff assembled the people in an open square, where he ascended a stage, and took his seat on a throne surrounded by his cardinals, with the hermit standing at his side. He then arose and addressed them to the following effect:—

"The religion of Jesus Christ, which the West preserves in its original purity, was also for centuries freely preached and known in Asia. Doubtless the righteous effort to abolish every false view and interpretation has at times made us appear at variance with the inhabitants of those countries; but we have always regarded them as Christians, and never forgotten that we are all brethren of one house, children of one Father. Need I repeat what every one knows?—How those lands won from heathenism have been again wrested from the Christians, and are become the prey of the misbelievers? Who can hear it without grief and lamentation? And yet there is a pain still more severe, a misfortune still more great—Palestine and Jerusalem are in the hands of the enemy.

"The Redeemer of our race, who took human flesh and form for the salvation of us all, passed his life in that chosen land. Every spot there is hallowed by the words that He spake, by the miracles that He performed; every line of the Old and the New Testament proves that Palestine, as the inheritance of the Lord, and Jerusalem, as the seat of all mysteries and sanctity, should ever remain free from all pollution. And this city, this dwelling of Jesus Christ, the cradle of our salvation, is no longer a partaker of redemption! In that very temple whence Christ expelled the buyers and sellers, that the sanctuary might not be defiled, the doctrine of the Devil is now openly preached! Who now can pray to the Virgin

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\* That is, the suspension of arms for a part of each week. The church, even when most corrupt, always sought to promote peace.

Mary? Who can in the church of the Holy Sepulchre devoutly call on Him who has taken from Death his power? Beasts of burden stand in the holy edifices, and for permission to look on such profanation the sinners even demand a heavy tax. The faithful are persecuted, the priests are beaten and slain, the virgins are defiled and martyred. Woe unto us if we live and put not an end to such a state of evil: better were it for us to die than longer to endure the affliction of our brethren!

“Let every one deny himself and take on him the Cross of Christ, that he may gain Christ; let no Christian contend any more against another, that Christianity itself may not perish, but rather be spread and advanced; let bloodshed, enmity, and oppression cease; let every one show hardihood and courage, not where they will bring on him a curse, but where they will gain him the forgiveness of sins and the crown of martyrdom. Let no one fear danger, for the might of the foe will be feeble before him who fighteth for the Lord; let no one fear want, for he who wins the Lord is abundantly rich; let no one be stayed at home for the tears of those he is leaving behind, for the grace of the Lord will protect them also.”

Loud cries of “God wills it” (*Dieu le volt*) here interrupted the speech of the pontiff. When silence was restored, he thus resumed: “The words of the Scripture are now fulfilled, ‘Where but two or three are gathered together in my name, I will be in the midst of them;’ for nothing but the influence of the Lord produces the like zeal in you all, and makes the same word be spoken by each. Let this word be your war-cry in every conflict which you enter for the faith of Christ; the cross be your sign for strength and humility. The curse of the holy see shall fall upon every one who seeks to impede this most sacred enterprise; but its support in the name of the Lord shall smoothen your path, and guide you in all your ways.”

Then some might be seen melted to tears by the eloquence of the pontiff, others shuddering at the idea of the evils he portrayed, others encouraging their friends to obey the call of the holy father. Ademar, archbishop



of Puy, ran forward with a joyful countenance, and, falling at the feet of the pontiff, craved permission to share in the holy war. His example was followed by William, bishop of Orange. Clergy and laity pressed forward to enter on the *Way of the Lord*. They all cast themselves on the ground, and one of the cardinals read a general confession in their names, and the pope bestowed on them absolution of their sins. Each pilgrim affixed a red cross to the right shoulder of his garment; hence they were called the Crossed (*Croisés*), and the Holy War named a Crusade (*Croisade*).

The pope charged the clergy, on their return home, to stimulate the warlike portion of the people to the holy expedition, and to prohibit all others from sharing in it. The prelates besought him to be their leader, but he excused himself, as there was an antipope, and he was on ill terms with the emperor of Germany and the king of France, but he promised to join them as soon as peace was restored to the church. Meantime he appointed the bishop of Puy to be his legate in the camp of the faithful.

#### CAUSES OF THE CRUSADE.

IT would be a vain attempt to endeavour to assign any single cause of an expedition in which such multitudes of different ranks, ages, and tempers took a part. Some were moved by sincere piety, and the desire of visiting the land which had been hallowed by the presence of their Redeemer; others, enraged at the profanation of the heathen, would exert their valour in destroying the enemies of their Lord; the love of novelty, or the hope of gain, urged many; some took the cross merely in imitation of others, or that they might not be called cowards. The lower orders were glad to escape from the tyranny of the nobles beneath the banner of the cross; a famine which had desolated Europe urged many to seek a settlement in the more smiling regions of the East; monks fled from the restraint of their order; criminals from the punishment of their crimes; debtors from the urgency of their creditors; nay, some assumed the cross as a means of escape from shrewish or abandoned wives!

If any one cause could be assigned, it would be feudal-

ism, that relation of lord and vassal which at that time pervaded all parts of society. Christ was, according to this principle, lord paramount of the whole earth, and the Holy Land was his peculiar property, which his vassals were bound to recover for him. We do not say that the matter was thus formally stated at that time, but we are sure that few of the Crusaders would have denied the validity of such an argument, and that it secretly operated on the minds of all the pious and sincere, and was probably the pretext of those who were actuated by less worthy motives.

#### LEADERS OF THE CRUSADE.

NO crowned head was to be found among those who assumed the cross. The emperor Henry IV. was at enmity with the pope; Philip king of France lay under the sentence of excommunication for an unlawful marriage; William Rufus of England was little inclined to take part in a Holy War; the Christian monarchs of Spain had the infidel to combat on their own soil.

The following were the chief of those who assumed the cross in France and its vicinity.\*

The first in fame and in noble qualities was Godfrey of Bouillon, duke of Lorraine. This prince had in youth taken the side of the emperor Henry IV., and such was the valour and the steadiness he displayed, that on the eve of the decisive battle on the Elster, against Rodolf, the rival emperor, when Henry asked his nobles who should bear the imperial standard in the fight next day, every tongue named Godfrey. The standard was committed to his hand, and in the fray he rushed boldly into the ranks of the enemy, and struck Rodolf so forcibly on the breast with the staff of his banner, that he died a few days afterwards of the wound.

Godfrey attended the emperor in his Italian campaign against Gregory VII., and was the first to mount the walls of Rome; but fatigue, combined with the heat and the impure air of that city, brought on him a severe at-

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\* See the characters of the different Christian chiefs given by Tasso, *Jer. Del.* c. i. and iii.



tack of fever. To reward his zeal, the emperor gave him the territory of Antwerp, and shortly afterwards the duchy of Lorraine.

The duke of Lorraine had, not long after, a dispute with a nobleman to whom he was akin, about some considerable property; the judges decreed that the question should be decided by single combat.\* As it was the custom of the country, Godfrey consented to it, though unwillingly, and not without a sense of its impropriety. The combat had scarcely begun, when the blade of Godfrey's sword broke on the shield of his opponent: the emperor, by the advice of his princes, then offered his mediation, but Godfrey would not quit the lists with a doubtful reputation, and in the renewed combat he struck his adversary so violent a blow on the temples with the broken weapon, that he was carried for dead out of the lists.

To valour Godfrey joined piety, chastity, moderation, mildness, and generosity. His exterior also was agreeable; his features were handsome, his hair a light brown, his person tall, and he was equally strong and active in his limbs. The invitation of the pontiff was most welcome to Godfrey, as even in his childhood he had expressed an ardent desire to visit Jerusalem, and he had vowed a pilgrimage at the time he lay sick at Rome. He now joyfully mortgaged his paternal domain of Bouillon for one thousand five hundred marks of silver, to the bishop of Liege, and two other possessions to the bishop of Verdun, in order that he might be able to make a suitable appearance among the Christian chiefs.

Godfrey was accompanied by his brothers, Baldwin and Eustace, and their nephew Baldwin of Rames, or of Bourg.

Robert, duke of Normandy, the son of the Conqueror, and brother of William, king of England, was in birth and wealth the superior of the duke of Lorraine; in noble qualities he stood far beneath him. His bravery and generosity might have procured him respect, were it not

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\* This possibly suggested to Tasso the combat of Count Raymond in the presence of the emperor.—*Jer. Del. c. vii. st. 63, 64.*

that his indolence and proneness to sensual pleasure checked their exercise. His virtues, too, bordered on vice; his liberality degenerated into extravagance, his easiness of temper let crime go unpunished, and, though he would shed tears of sympathy with misfortune, his want of prudence and vigour usually rendered him incapable of alleviating it. Glad to escape from the uneasiness of his situation, he pledged his duchy for five years to the king of England for ten thousand marks, and assembled a numerous band of pilgrims beneath the banner of Normandy.

In the camp of the duke of Normandy appeared Edgar Atheling, the last of the Saxon line of English monarchs. Similarity of character had produced a friendship between these two brave but imprudent princes.

Robert, earl of Flanders, had already visited the holy places as a pilgrim, and been a witness of their profanation. Indifferent to power, his wish was to shine as the first of knights, and he liberally devoted his wealth to the support of the more needy pilgrims who ranged themselves beneath his banner.

Hugh, count of Vermandois, brother to the king of France, named the Great from his size, was inferior to none in uprightness and honour, though in power, wealth, and military prowess, some ranked before him. He led the pilgrims from the territories of his brother.

Stephen, count of Blois and Chartres, the lord, as was said, of as many castles as there are days in the year, was generous and condescending, but deficient in mental vigour. His mind was more cultivated than those of the other chiefs, and his counsels were listened to with respect.

The wealthiest and most powerful prince in France was Raymond, count of Toulouse. He was now advanced in years, and had already drawn his sword against the infidels in Spain. The loss of an eye gave him an unprepossessing appearance, and his prudence and dislike of extravagant expenditure alienated from him at first the minds of many; but afterwards, when relieved by his generosity, they changed their censure into praise of his foresight. Raymond, who seems to have meditated a

settlement in the East, alienated a large portion of his domains to defray the expenses of the war against the infidels.

The legate Ademar of Puy was the companion of the count of Toulouse; he was distinguished for piety and integrity, was well acquainted with the world, and not unskilled in military affairs.\*

### PREPARATIONS FOR THE CRUSADE.

**D**URING the winter, France presented a busy scene. The Crusade occupied the thoughts of all. Great was the demand for horses, arms, accoutrements, and money. Lands, and houses, and movable goods, were sold and mortgaged at a low rate, for the sellers so far exceeded the buyers in number, that they were obliged to accept any terms they could get. Those who stayed behind contributed their money also toward the support of the holy war.

When spring appeared (1096), vast multitudes assembled, eager to proceed for the Holy Land. Horsemen and footmen, women and children, the old and the young, the free and the serf, monks, peasants, burghers, soldiers, all crowded to the sacred standard. "The man," says an old chronicle, "let the plough stand, the herdsman the cattle, the wife ran with the cradle, the monk out of the cloister, the nuns too were among the rest." Some came down the rivers in boats; the peasant brought his wife, children, and household goods in a two-wheeled cart drawn by oxen shod with iron; the knight and noble rode with hawk and hound, intending to enjoy the pleasures of the chase as they journeyed toward the unknown land for which they were bound. A general ignorance of the distance and situation of the Holy Land prevailed, and, when they drew near a castle or a town, the children

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\* The chief authorities for the history of the first Crusade, are Raymond d'Agiles, Count Raymond's chaplain; Fulcher of Chartres, the chaplain of Baldwin of Bouillon; Radulph of Caen, the companion and biographer of Tancred. These were eye-witnesses. There are also histories by Albert of Aix, the Abbot Guibert, and other contemporaries; and William, archbishop of Tyre, wrote, at the close of the twelfth century, his history from existing documents and traditions. The Princess Anna Comnena has left an account of the first Crusade, in her *Alexias*, or *Life of her father Alexius*.

were heard to ask eagerly, *Is that Jerusalem? Is that Jerusalem?*

Pavilions, tents, huts, and booths, everywhere arose on the hills and plains, by town, village, and castle. In strange confusion were mingled military ardour, piety, and zeal, with vice and profligacy of every description. Women, both chaste and unchaste, appeared clad in man's attire, and the camp of those who were about to war for Christ presented scenes of the grossest debauchery.

#### SIGNS AND WONDERS.

IT could hardly be expected that in a grossly superstitious age, and when the minds of men were heated with enthusiasm, natural appearances should not be converted into divine intimations, and fraud should not invent marvels for the deception of ignorance.

Stars were seen to fall from heaven thick as hail, northern lights of unusual brilliancy flashed along the sky, and the comets displayed their flaming trains. Children were born with double limbs, and capable of speech. Shepherds as they watched their flocks at night beheld a great city in the air. A priest, as he walked with two companions in a wood, saw a huge sword carried along by the wind; and another priest was in bright daylight the spectator of a combat in the sky between two horsemen, one of whom smote the other with a great cross, and thus became the victor. The mighty Charlemagne, it was averred, would rise from the dead to conduct the holy warriors to conquest.

#### SETTING-FORTH OF THE FIRST PILGRIMS.

THE princes, aware of the difficulty that would attend the march of such numbers in one body, arranged that they should proceed in separate divisions. Duke Godfrey was to lead his army through Hungary; Count Raymond was to take his route through northern Italy and Dalmatia; the other princes were to march to Apulia, and thence pass over to Greece. All were to rendezvous at Constantinople.



In the month of May, crowds of those who had assumed the cross assembled in Lorraine under the Hermit. They consisted of those who had been rejected by the princes, or who, impatient of delay, deemed the Hermit the fittest leader of the enterprise; badly clad, badly armed, wild, tumultuous, followed by women and children. Eight knights alone appeared among them, of whom one, Walter the Moneyless, had led fifteen thousand foot-men from France. At Cologne, Walter and his followers quitted the Hermit, and pushed on for Hungary.

The king of Hungary at that time was named Kalmany;\* he was deformed in person, but upright and prudent in mind and conduct. On Walter's application for a free passage, and market, he readily granted them, and the pilgrims reached in safety the confines of Bulgaria. The governor of Belgrade having refused them a market, they resolved to supply themselves by force, and laid siege to the town; the peasantry of the neighbourhood, whom they plundered, assembled and fell upon them, and Walter made his escape, with a select body, to Nissa, the residence of the Bulgarian prince. Here they were treated kindly, and furnished with guides to Constantinople, where the Emperor Alexius assigned them quarters without the walls, and his subjects supplied them with provisions at a reasonable price.

Great was the dismay of Alexius and the Greeks when the letter of the pontiff, and the voice of fame, assured them of the mighty preparations of the West. Their religious feelings were of so different a nature from those of the Latin Christians, that they could not conceive them to be actuated by religious motives alone; and judging of them by the experience they had had of Robert Guiscard and his Normans, they dreaded them scarcely less than the Turks. The prudent emperor however resolved to avoid all occasion of offence. He sent officers to Aulon and Dyrrhachium to receive them, and to furnish them with interpreters, and whatever else might be requisite; and he made preparations for their reception when they should arrive at his capital.

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\* He is called Coloman by the historians.

## MARCH OF THE HERMIT AND HIS PILGRIMS.

THE host of the Hermit, by the time he reached the frontiers of Hungary, amounted to forty thousand men. King Kalmany readily granted a passage, but took at the same time due precautions against the excesses of the pilgrims. Many of his subjects manifested an inclination to spoil the crusaders of their wealth, so that there was suspicion on both sides. Nothing however occurred till the pilgrims arrived at the town of Semlin, on the Save. Here a report reached them that it was the intention of King Kalmany to attack them on one side, while the Bulgarians should assail them on the other, in their passage of the river. This threw them into perplexity, and while they were in this state of alarm the people of the town, either out of derision, or by way of warning, hung out on their walls the clothes of some pilgrims belonging to Walter's army whom they had plundered.

At this sight the pilgrims were filled with rage, supposing that their comrades had been murdered, and that the same fate was reserved for themselves. They grasped their arms, and flew to assail the town; the garrison thus taken by surprise, fled, the pilgrims mounted the walls and entered the town, where they barbarously slaughtered four thousand of the inhabitants, a few only making their escape in boats across the river. For five days they abode in the town, sharing the booty, and consuming the provisions. At length a Frank, who was settled in Hungary, terrified them with intelligence of the approach of King Kalmany with a large army, to avenge the slaughter of his people and the destruction of his town. In haste they collected boats, and formed rafts of timber, and got to the other side of the Save, not however without loss, for some were carried away by the stream, and the Bulgarians moving about in light canoes shot others with their arrows.

They found Belgrade deserted by its inhabitants, who feared the fate of those of Semlin. A march of eight days brought them to Nissa. As their provisions were



exhausted, they craved permission to purchase; leave was granted by the Bulgarian prince on their giving two knights as hostages; provisions were then supplied at a most moderate rate, and the wants of the poorer pilgrims were relieved by the charity of the inhabitants.

Next morning the hostages were restored, and Peter set forth with the greater part of his people, supposing that the rest would follow. But some Germans, about a hundred in number, who remained behind, having a dispute with a Bulgarian tavern-keeper, set fire to seven mills without the town, and pulled down the adjoining houses. They fled, but were pursued, overtaken, and cut down, by the Bulgarians; who, confounding the innocent with the guilty, slew or made captive a great number of the aged, the infirm, the women, and the children, who were in the rear of the army, and seized several waggons laden with provisions.

A knight hastened forward to inform the Hermit, who instantly led back his men, and occupied his former ground: but on hearing the real state of affairs, he dropped all thoughts of vengeance, and sent envoys into the town to assure the people of his innocence, to procure the restoration of the captives and the baggage, and if possible to make a new and a stronger treaty. Though a part of the Bulgarians were against any accommodation, matters would probably have been amicably arranged, had it not been that about a thousand of the pilgrims, in defiance of the Hermit's orders to the contrary, crossed the stone bridge, and advanced toward the town. Neither threat nor entreaty could induce them to return. As soon as the Bulgarians beheld them thus isolated, and acting in opposition to the will of their leader, they sallied forth and attacked them, drove them toward the bridge, slew one-half of them, and forced the remainder into the river. Their brethren in vain attempted to avenge them; they were driven from the bridge with loss, and the deputies were obliged to leave the town.

Peter now sent a Bulgarian who had taken the cross to obtain a truce. But when the pilgrims learned that a truce had been granted, they began to pack up their baggage and set forward. In vain did the Hermit and

the knights remonstrate ; they would not be stayed, and the Bulgarians, thinking they had only sought a truce in order to make their escape, fell on them anew and gained a complete victory. Above a thousand of the crusaders were slain, and a great number, including women and children, taken, as were also two thousand waggons, and all the money which had been given to the Hermit by the pious, for the support of the poor pilgrims. The shelter of the woods and mountains alone saved them from utter destruction. The Hermit retired to a hill with a few companions. During the three days that succeeded, the sound of the trumpet recalled to him his scattered host, and at the head of thirty thousand he resumed his march for the imperial city.

As the pilgrims advanced, they found all the towns and villages deserted. Unable thus to obtain provisions, they could only appease their hunger by plucking the ripening corn that stood in the fields. At Sternitz, to their great joy, they found envoys from the Greek emperor, who, after sharply reproaching them for their conduct in Bulgaria, undertook to conduct them, and supply them with provisions, on their pledging themselves not to remain more than three days in any one place. The Hermit shed tears of joy, and fell on his knees, and returned thanks aloud to God in the presence of his army. The pilgrims again set forward, and having halted for two days at Adrianople, joined, on the 1st of August, the army of Walter, beneath the walls of the imperial city.

#### THE PILGRIMS IN ASIA.

ALEXIUS was curious to see the man who had produced such a movement in the West. He invited the Hermit to his presence, listened with sympathy to the tale of his calamities, applauded his glowing picture of the magnitude and sanctity of the crusade, and gave gifts to him and his companions ; but he warned them not to think of passing over to Asia, and engaging the formidable Turks before the arrival of the other crusaders.

The pilgrims, however, confident in their strength and in the aid of God, would not be restrained. They were

urgent with the emperor to give them ships, and, Alexius acceding to their desire, they passed over and encamped at Kibotus\* in Bithynia. Discord soon broke out among them, and the Germans and Lombards, disgusted at the arrogance of the French, separated from them, and encamping apart, chose one Rainald to be their leader.

During two months they remained inactive, waiting for the other pilgrims. They were abundantly supplied with provisions by the Greek traders; but the payment for them at length exhausted their means, and they then deemed themselves justified in having recourse to violence. They plundered the surrounding country, and even stripped the lead off the roofs of the churches to sell it to the Greeks. Peter, grieved at the enormities which thus took place under his eyes, and which he could not prevent, returned to Constantinople, to try if he could obtain a supply of provisions on moderate terms, and thus remove the occasion of pillage and devastation.

During the absence of Peter, as the wants of the pilgrims still increased, a body of seven thousand foot and three hundred horse left the French camp, and, careless of the charge which had been given against commencing hostilities, entered the Turkish territory, and advanced towards the city of Nicæa, seizing the cattle in the villages, and committing dreadful cruelties on the inhabitants. They defeated a body of Turks who came out against them, and returned in triumph with their booty to the camp.

The success of the French excited the emulation of the Germans, and a body of three thousand foot, and two hundred horse, left their camp under the command of Rainald, in quest of booty and martial renown. They reached a town or castle named Xerigordon, which lay at the foot of a hill about four miles from Nicæa, which they took and plundered, slaying the greater part of the inhabitants. Finding the situation pleasant, and the country fruitful, they resolved to fortify it, and await there the

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\* Called by the historians Civitot. As the Greeks pronounce their  $\delta$  ( $\beta$ ) as  $v$ , and the accent is on the first syllable of this word, and the final  $s$  is mute in modern Greek, the French writers have given the name correctly enough, if they pronounced  $c$  hard like  $k$ .

arrival of the princes. But they soon found themselves assailed by the troops of a Turkish emir, and having failed in the attempt at making themselves a passage by force, they began to suffer the extremities of a parching thirst. For eight days they held out, sustained by the assurances of their clergy, that they were thus securing the joys of heaven, drinking for want of water the blood of animals, and placing sods of fresh earth on their bosoms to cool and allay the heat. At length Rainald made a secret treaty with the Turks, agreeing to abjure his faith; and he and a part of the garrison went over to them, under the pretext of a sally. Those who remained faithful to their religion were either slain or led into captivity.\*

When intelligence of this misfortune reached the camp, the pilgrims were furious to avenge the fate of their brethren. In vain Walter and the more considerate leaders sought to restrain them; their prudence was taxed as timidity, by a knight named Godfrey of Burel, who tauntingly asked, if they did not suppose that Christ would fight for them against the Turks. At the head of twenty-five thousand foot and five hundred horse, Godfrey issued from the camp, leaving behind the priests, the aged, the women, and the children. Walter accompanied those whom he could not restrain.

The pilgrims, in six divisions, entered a thick wood which lay between their camp and Nicæa. At the same time the Turks also entered it, on their way to attack the Christian camp. Suddenly hearing the voices of men, the neighing of horses, and the sound of trumpets, they judged it must be the foe, and they fell back, and formed in the extensive plain which lay beyond the wood. The Christians, as they emerged from among the trees, beheld to their surprise the Turkish horse covering the plain; but undismayed they sent their horse and part of the foot to engage them, while the rest should set themselves in battle array. The Turks fell back, to draw the Christians on; then suddenly wheeling on both their wings, they

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\* This Rainald, or Rinaldo, seems to have been the original of Tasso's Rinaldo, who renounces his faith when a captive to the enchantress Armida.



enclosed, and cut them off from the main body of their army. They forced their way through the Turks, and got into the open plain before Nicæa; but their efforts were vain, and they all fell beneath the Turkish arrows, which stretched horse and man alike upon the plain. The main body of the pilgrims fought bravely, but were soon broken and cut to pieces. Walter the Moneyless was among the slain.

The Turks pursued the fugitives through the wood, and took the camp, where they slew the aged and the clergy, and made captives of the women and children. They also got a large booty of horses, mules, and other cattle. All that remained of the pilgrims, about three thousand in number, threw themselves into a ruinous castle on the seaside. The Turks attempted to drive them out by fire, but the wind carried the flame away from the castle, and the Greek emperor sent aid by sea and saved them.

When the Turks retired, the pilgrims returned to Constantinople, where they sold their arms to the emperor, and resolved to await the arrival of their companions. Alexius reminded the Hermit that they had incurred these misfortunes by their neglect of his counsel; but Peter made answer, "The Lord hath not found the disobedient and the robbers worthy of beholding the holy sepulchre. His power hath destroyed them." This solution of the question was probably satisfactory to the simple Hermit; but had he possessed the power to control as well as to excite, the ruin might easily have been averted.

#### GOTTSCHALK AND HIS PILGRIMS.

A PRIEST, named Gottschalk, assembled fifteen thousand pilgrims in the countries about the Rhine, and led them into Hungary. Here they robbed and plundered on a large scale, and King Kalmany brought his troops against them, and surrounded them in a plain near Belgrade. Fearing their valour and desperation, he had recourse to artifice. He sent to say, that in a battle the innocent would suffer with the guilty, but if they laid down their arms, these last alone should be punished.



The pilgrims did as required, and the Hungarians then fell on and slaughtered the whole of them.

The same fate, brought on by the same conduct, befell a body of pilgrims, led by a lay brother named Volkmar. Nothing, it was said, saved them from utter destruction, but the miraculous appearance of a cross in the sky.

#### MASSACRES OF THE JEWS.

**H**ITHERTO the crusaders seem to have thought that they were only bound by their vow to employ their valour for the recovery of the Holy Land; but now they began to reflect that, as the chosen warriors of Christ, it was their duty to destroy all His enemies. The unhappy Jews who dwelt amongst them were instantly selected as victims by the fanatics of the lowest classes. In the cities on the Rhine crowds of the rabble went about robbing and murdering them. In Cologne their houses and synagogues were pulled down, and many of them massacred. At Worms they were required to renounce their faith: they asked time to deliberate, and in the interval slew themselves to escape the guilt of apostasy. The same was the case at Treves. At Spire they defended themselves manfully against the pilgrims, and gained for a sum of money the protection of the bishop, whose humanity was termed bribery by the fanatics. The Jews of Mentz were placed by the archbishop, for safety, in a strong house, but it was broken open, and man, woman, and child slaughtered. Women here slew their own children to save them from the sword of the enemy. More than a thousand perished in this city alone. When the emperor Henry IV. returned the next year from Italy, he gave permission to such Jews as had been forced to renounce their faith, to resume it, and he set inquiry afoot after the original authors of those atrocities, among whom were found some near kinsmen of the archbishop of Mentz, who was himself strongly suspected, and obliged to fly to the emperor's enemies for protection.

#### COUNT EMICO AND HIS PILGRIMS.

**T**HE disorderly bands of pilgrims from the Rhine and Moselle at length united to march under the com-

mand of William the Carpenter,\* and some other knights of evil fame. The chief leader was Emico, a count on the Rhine, of large possessions, but noted for deeds of violence and cruelty. But the main confidence of these pilgrims was placed on a goose and a she-goat, which preceded their march, and to which they rendered divine honours, believing them to be filled with the Holy Ghost.

Such gross superstition had its usual concomitants, cruelty, and disregard of all moral duty. Robbing, and plundering, Count Emico's host of twenty thousand foot and three thousand horse reached the town of Merseburg, at the confluence of the Leitha and the Danube, on the confines of Hungary. Being refused a passage, they threw a bridge over the former river, and attacked the town. They had mounted the walls, and King Kalmany, who was in the place, was preparing for flight, when a sudden panic seized the assailants, and they fled, leaving all their baggage and property behind. The Hungarians fell on and slaughtered them; those who escaped returned home, or joined the great armies of the pilgrims in Germany and Apulia.

Popular tradition related that Count Emico was frequently seen after his death in the neighbourhood of Worms. He was cased in red-hot armour, and prayed those who met him, to diminish by prayers and alms the torments to which he was condemned for his godless life.

#### MARCH OF DUKE GODFREY'S ARMY.

THE fate of the first bodies of the pilgrims gave room to gloomy anticipations, for the people of all the countries through which the crusaders were to pass, might now be regarded as hostile; but, in reality, their fate was a benefit to those who were to follow. The useless, the profligate, and the undisciplined, who might have corrupted the remainder, were thus removed out of the way, and the necessity of discipline and obedience was now clearly seen.

In the middle of the month of August, 1096, Godfrey

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\* So named from the strength and the force of his blows. He was related to the king of France.

of Bouillon assembled his army on the Rhine, and set forward, accompanied by his brothers, their nephew, and a numerous company of knights and nobles. The harvest had been so abundant this year, that the army was able to march in one body through Germany, and on the 20th of September they reached Tollenburgh, on the Leitha, the frontier town of the empire on the side of Hungary. Here the duke halted, and sent forward Count Godfrey of Ascha, with twelve knights, as his envoy to the king of Hungary. He was instructed to say, that they had heard that several pilgrims had lost their lives there, and that they were come to avenge them if they had perished unjustly, but if otherwise they would exercise no hostilities. Kalmany related the atrocities of the pilgrims, and expressed his desire for a personal interview with the duke, to arrange all differences. Though his justification of himself was not considered perfectly satisfactory, it was deemed the wiser course to accept of it, and not to impede the great work by a contest with a new foe. Godfrey, therefore, consented to the interview, and on the appointed day rode with three hundred nobles to the castle of Liperon, where the king advanced on the bridge to meet him. Both being sincere and desirous of peace, matters were speedily arranged. An unexpected difficulty, however, arose. Kalmany required that Godfrey's brother Baldwin, and his wife and attendants, should be given as hostages. But Baldwin, either suspicious of danger or disdaining to be a pledge, positively refused to consent. "Then," said the duke, "I will be the hostage myself, in reliance on the honour of the king, and the good conduct of the pilgrims." Baldwin, ashamed, made no longer any resistance, and went with all his family to the camp of King Kalmany.

The Hungarians were ordered to furnish provisions at good weight and measure, and at moderate price, to the pilgrims; and Godfrey commanded his people, under pain of death, to abstain from plunder and violence. There did not arise the smallest cause of complaint on either side, and at the frontier King Kalmany, who had all along kept with his army at a little distance, returned the duke his thanks, restored the hostages, and distributed presents among the

chiefs. The Emperor Alexius had also given directions that the pilgrims should be well received on their maintaining strict discipline; and they marched without impediment through Belgrade, Nissa, and Sternitz, to Philippopolis. Here the duke learned that the count of Vermandois had been made a prisoner by the Greeks.

#### MARCH OF THE COUNT OF VERMANDOIS.

THIS prince left France with a numerous band of followers, and entered Italy. At Lucca he visited the Pope Urban, who gave him his blessing, and presented him with a consecrated banner. Passing through Rome to visit the tombs of the Holy Apostles, he experienced much opposition from the anti-pope Clement, who held possession of that city, and he thence directed his course to Bari, as he had sent some time before four-and-twenty knights to Greece, demanding a passage, in no very modest terms, of the emperor.

But Alexius had now no doubt on his mind that the objects of the crusaders were by no means merely spiritual, for he had learned that his old enemy Boemond, prince of Tarentum, had taken the cross. He therefore sent his nephew John to guard the coast, and a fleet to cruise in the Adriatic sea. The envoys of the count were apparently well received, but secret orders to make sure of his person were sent to Dyrrachium.

The count sailed from Bari with a fair wind, but a violent storm soon arose and dispersed his fleet, and he landed in wretched plight a short distance from Dyrrachium. Here he was waited on by two persons, sent by the emperor's nephew to condole with him, and invite him to that town. He asked for a horse, for he had not been able to save even one, and one of the envoys jumped off, and presented him the horse he was riding. Prince John treated him with all respect, but contrived to detain him till he should have received directions from the emperor how he was further to act. Orders soon came to forward him to the capital by a circuitous route, lest some roving bodies of pilgrims might rescue him if he were sent by the direct road. He was, however, received at court with great kindness, though a watch was kept over his person and actions.



Alexius, knowing that he could not overcome the crusaders by force, and thinking that kindness would have little effect on them, resolved to take a middle course. He thought that if he could bind them to him by the obligation of vassalage, the ties of which were held to be so strong in the West, he might avert danger from his empire, and even add to it their future conquests in the East, and at the same time keep up the ancient claims of the Eastern emperors to the dominion of the Roman world.

With this view presents were lavished on Count Hugh, and he was at length induced to take the oath of fealty. He still, however, found that he was watched, and weary of restraint he sent to beg that Godfrey would procure him his freedom. The duke of Lorraine sent deputies to Constantinople for this purpose, but the emperor declined compliance. Godfrey had then recourse to some stronger measures: he gave his troops permission to plunder the region round Adrianople, and in a few days that fertile district was made a desert. Two Franks at length came to say that the pilgrims were at liberty; the ravages then ceased, and the army then marched in good order to Constantinople.

#### GODFREY AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

IT was the 23rd of December, when the army of the duke reached the Propontis, and encamped from the bridge of the Kosmidium to the church of St. Phocas. Here they were joined by Hugh of France, William the Carpenter, and the other pilgrims, who warned them to beware of the arts of the Greeks. Envoys also came from Alexius, inviting Godfrey to visit him, and requiring that no time should be lost in passing over to Asia. The former Godfrey declined; the latter he positively refused, as his troops required rest, and he wished to wait for the arrival of the other pilgrims.

Alexius now gave orders that no one should sell provisions to the pilgrims; they in return began to plunder, and the orders were recalled. He then proposed that they should take up their quarters in the extensive suburb of Pera; to this they gladly consented, as they suffered



greatly from the inclemency of the weather in their tents. The Greeks also were pleased at it, as Pera, lying between the sea and the river Bathyssus, which is usually swollen in winter, the crusaders would be the less able to go forth and plunder the country.

Lest the absence of all appearance of defence might excite the insolence of the crusaders, Alexius raised a body of those light troops called Turcoples,\* and fitted out some ships to protect the coasts. This conduct of the emperor filled the pilgrims with suspicion, and Godfrey, on being again invited into the city, sent word that he had heard too much of the emperor's ill-will toward the crusaders for him to venture thither, and that the treatment of Hugh of France justified every suspicion. The emperor solemnly declared that he had no such ill-feelings, and that he would treat Godfrey and his friends as if they were his own kinsmen. The duke, however, remained unmoved.

A new occasion of dispute soon presented itself. Alexius intercepted a correspondence between Godfrey and Boemond. The projects of Boemond had been at once rejected by Godfrey, but Alexius, who knew not such to be the case, deemed himself now to be justified in the employment of hostile measures against the pilgrims. A stop was put to the sale of provisions. Godfrey, who was conscious of no ill thought, saw in this another proof of the emperor's hostility to the pilgrims and their pious enterprise. He sent forthwith deputies to require that this order should be withdrawn.

At break of day the pilgrims went as usual down to the sea-shore, to purchase provisions from such as the love of gain induced to violate the imperial mandate. Suddenly a party of Turcoples came in boats, and drove away both buyers and sellers, and at the same time shot with their arrows some of the Franks, who were looking out of the windows of the neighbouring houses. This produced the greatest exasperation among the pilgrims, and it was augmented by a report that their envoys had

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\* These we shall frequently meet in the sequel. They were the children of Christian women by Turkish fathers.

been cast into prison by the emperor. They instantly began to pull down the palaces of Pera, and to slaughter their inhabitants, regarding all the Greeks indifferently as their enemies. Alexius, when he heard of this tumult, sent back without delay the Latin deputies, assuring them of his innocence, and representing how unseemly it was for Christians to make war on each other at the season when Christ had died for them.\*

Regardless of the pacific overtures of the emperor, the crusaders pressed on. A party, commanded by Godfrey's brother Baldwin, seized the bridge over the Bathyssus, and the army poured round the city, on the land side, hoping by their numbers and courage to take it without machines. That very time sixteen years, Alexius had, with his mercenary troops, taken the imperial city, and given it up to plunder; his people now deeming it to be the judgment of heaven upon him, lost all courage; Alexius himself alone remained composed. Without arms or armour he sat on his throne in the open air, and the fall at his side of one of his attendants, by a shot from the enemy, appalled him not. At length, when he found all pacific measures unavailing, he ordered the walls to be manned, and his troops to go out against the enemy. The combat lasted till night; the Greeks then returned into the city. The Latins encamped before the gates, and they took provisions and everything else they pleased from the surrounding country.

Alexius now sent the count of Vermandois to endeavour to prevail on Godfrey to cease from hostility, and take the oath of fealty. Godfrey said to the count, "You left home like a king in wealth and power, now you are become a slave. How can you ask me to perform an act so disgraceful?"—"If such be your way of thinking," replied Hugh, "we might as well have stayed at home. The aid of the emperor being absolutely requisite for our success, I deem it folly to make an enemy of him." Godfrey, however, persisted in his refusal.

About this time came letters from Boemond to Godfrey, advising him to act merely on the defensive till his

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\* So the Princess Anna relates, but it could not possibly be Easter at this time.

arrival, and then with their united forces they could easily make a conquest of the empire. But the noble duke of Lorraine replied, that though he knew the arts of the Greeks, he was disposed to peace, and never would turn aside from their great enterprise, or waste in strife with Christians the forces destined to combat against the infidels. Intelligence of this correspondence, however, terrified Alexius, and he resolved to spare no pains to gain over Godfrey before the arrival of the prince of Tarentum.

He sent to the camp of the Franks some of his principal generals, but their armed retinue was so numerous, that the crusaders could not regard them as the heralds of peace, and it came to a conflict, in which the Greeks had rather the advantage. Alexius at length, to leave no doubt of his sincerity, sent his own son John as a hostage; and Godfrey having now no ground for suspicion, prepared to wait upon the emperor.

Leaving the command of the army with his brother Baldwin, the duke, accompanied by the noblest of the Franks, mounted a boat and passed over to the city. After the fashion of the West, he and his companions were attired in garments of purple, adorned with gold and costly furs. Alexius sat on his throne, royally habited, and surrounded by his nobles. He rose not even to the duke of Lorraine. The strangers knelt and kissed his hand. The emperor then spake, extolling in high terms the valour and the piety of the Western Christians. His confidence in them, he said, was augmented when he heard that a prince of such unsullied fame as the duke of Lorraine was to be their leader. But when he learned that Boemond, whose character he knew, had joined them, he had become dubious for the fate of his empire, not knowing what the effect of that prince's arts and influence might be. Now, however, all his suspicions were removed, and supported by the Greeks, the Latins would, he was confident, advance against the common enemy. As, however, all the lands which they might conquer in Asia Minor had been wrested from his empire, he alone had a right to them; and in swearing to restore him these lands, and to be true and faithful to

him, they would not merely comply with a sacred duty, but give themselves a title to his eternal gratitude.

As soon as the emperor had ceased to speak, Godfrey advanced and took the oath of fealty; his example was followed by all the other nobles. Rich gifts of gold, silver, garments, and mules, were now lavishly bestowed by the emperor, whose generosity and affability won all hearts. As the highest mark of honour, he adopted the duke of Lorraine as his son or Cæsar, and all the Latin chiefs returned joyfully to their camp. Prince John was sent back, and nothing further occurred to interrupt the harmony. Every week Alexius sent large sums of money to the camp, which Godfrey divided among the pilgrims for the purchase of provisions.

In the spring of 1097, Alexius reminded the duke that in case of the arrival of the other armies of the pilgrims, so large a number could not be supported at Constantinople. Godfrey, aware of the justness of his representations, agreed to pass over to Asia. He embarked his men, and landed, and pitched his camp at Pelicanum in Bithynia.

#### BOEMOND AND TANCRED.

**BOEMOND**, the eldest son of Robert Guiscard the Norman, and the able seconder of his plans of conquest in the Greek empire, found himself at his father's death, under the plea of illegitimacy, reduced to the petty principalities of Tarentum, Gallipolis, and Otranto. His spirit was pent up within these narrow limits, when he heard to his joy, that the Holy Father had called on the warriors of the West to march to the conquest of Asia; and he began to see the prospect of the dominion of some splendid region in the distance. He, however, prudently confined these thoughts to his own bosom, and he was aiding his uncle Roger, count of Sicily, to reduce the rebellious town of Amalfi, when the count of Vermandois and his splendid train of pilgrims entered Apulia. A sudden enthusiasm for the holy war seized the Normans, and Boemond, affecting to share it, cried aloud, *God wills it!* and took a costly mantle and cut it up to form crosses for himself and his friends. So many followed this ex-



ample, that Roger angrily exclaimed they were leaving the country to him without men.

To induce his nephew Tancred to accompany him to the war, Boemond employed both gifts and promises. But this gallant youth was already strongly disposed by inclination, and by a sense of duty. Tancred exceeded the young in valour, the aged in wisdom; modest as brave, he was never known to praise his own deeds. A constant hearer of the word of God, he shunned all treachery and artifice, and ever was candid and without disguise. He had been hesitating and thinking if duty did not call him to the monastic life, when the union of the military and the spiritual characters, which the Crusade aimed to effect, awakened all his energies, and invited him to action.\*

Before the commencement of the winter, in the year 1196, Boemond set sail with ten thousand horse, and a numerous body of infantry, stated at twenty thousand, and landed on the coast of Illyria. Without loss of time he set forward, and coming to a fortress named Pelegonia, and hearing that those who possessed it were heretics, he attacked and took it, and slaughtered the inhabitants. Envoys from the Greek emperor here met him, desiring him to abstain from robbery and plunder, as it would draw on him chastisement; but assuring him that all care had been taken to supply him with provisions on the way, and that a most friendly reception awaited him at court. Boemond made a corresponding reply, but both were equally insincere. The prince of Tarentum was at that very time urging Godfrey to a conquest of the empire, and Alexius was collecting an army to destroy the Norman pilgrims.

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\* Tasso makes Tancred the very *beau idéal* of chivalry.

“Then Tancred follows to the war, than whom,  
Save young Rinaldo, is no nobler knight,  
More mild in manners, fair in manly bloom,  
Or more sublimely daring in the fight;  
If any shade of error makes less bright  
His rich endowments and heroic charms,  
It is the foil of love which at first sight,  
Born of surprise amid the shock of arms,  
Grows with increase of tears and sorrow's fond alarms.”

C. i. st. 45. WIFFEN.

The love, we may observe, of Tancred for Clorinda is all the poet's own invention.



They marched through Macedonia, and on the 16th of February were about to cross the river Varder, (the Axios,) when the Greek troops suddenly appeared over the whole country. About one-half of the pilgrims were over the river, when the Greeks fell on those who remained behind under the command of the count of Roussillon. They were nearly overpowered, when Tancred, followed by two thousand horsemen, plunged into the river and came to their aid. The Greeks fled, and the prisoners revealed the treachery of the emperor; but Boemond concealed his resentment, as he knew not how the duke of Lorraine would act.

An embassy now arrived from the emperor, to assure the prince of Tarentum that the attack on the pilgrims had been the voluntary act of the mercenary troops, and done contrary to orders; and that the army might now proceed without any apprehension. Boemond, who well knew the falsehood of this declaration, affected to be satisfied, and the army advanced as far as Rusa; but here they found the gates closed against them, and had great difficulty to procure a scanty supply of provisions. Tancred, enraged at this treacherous conduct, burned to punish it, and was with difficulty restrained by the more artful and interested Boemond.

In fact, Boemond had now altered his plans, and was become anxious to gain the friendship and confidence of the emperor. He saw that the great body of the pilgrims, sincere in their desire of conquering the holy city, were totally adverse to the idea of hostilities against the Greeks; and Godfrey, who was now come to his camp, plainly told him that he was himself so far from harbouring any hostile designs, that he had taken an oath of fealty to the emperor, and that, for the common weal, Boemond must do the same without hesitation. It now occurred to the wily Norman that, as his army was inferior in strength to that of the duke of Lorraine, the emperor being freed from apprehension of his power, might be disposed to treat him with less consideration. He therefore quitted his army, and hastened on to Constantinople, hoping by this act of confidence and promptness to make a favourable impression on the emperor. Alexius,

well aware that one man of ability is often of more worth than an army, received him with the greatest distinction. Boemond, on his side too, was all courtesy. He spoke of the war between his father and the emperor, but so as to turn it to a compliment; saying, that he had since learned wisdom, and was now come not as a foe but as a friend. He took the oath of fealty without hesitation, and Alexius assigned him a splendid palace for his abode, whither each day he sent abundance of meats, both raw and dressed; the former, he said, that if Boemond did not relish the Greek cookery, he might have his meats dressed after his own country fashion. The real reason, however, was to remove suspicion of the meats being poisoned. Boemond, to show that he had no suspicion, though he used the former himself, distributed the latter among his friends.

He was one day, as if casually, led into an apartment, filled with gold, silver, and costly raiment; and when he beheld so much wealth, he could not refrain from exclaiming, "Ah! if those treasures were mine, I should soon be the lord of many lands." "They are thine," replied his conductor. Boemond joyfully accepted the princely gift, but when they were brought to his lodging, he began to reflect that he had let his joy be too easily seen, or that it was unbecoming an independent prince to put himself under such an obligation, and he sent them back. Alexius, however, saying that it was not usual to return presents, unless to show that they were beneath acceptance, and pressing him not to grieve him by so doing, Boemond, who had probably expected this result, suffered his delicacy to be overcome, and was even emboldened to ask the government of the Asiatic provinces to be conquered. Alexius, aware of the purposes to which such a commission might be turned, made excuses for not immediately complying with his desire, but still fed him with hopes.

It may not be amiss to give here the princess Anna Comnena's description of the personal appearance of Boemond.

"Neither amongst our own nation, nor amongst foreigners, is there in our age a man equal to Boemond.

His presence dazzled the eyes, as his reputation did the imagination. He was one cubit taller than the tallest man known. He was slender in the waist, but broad in the chest and shoulders, and neither too fat nor too lean. His arms were strong, his hands large and full, his feet firm and solid. He stooped a little, but from habit, not from any deformity. He was fair, with an agreeable mixture of red on his cheeks. His hair did not hang loose on his shoulders, after the fashion of the barbarians,\* but was cut above his ears. His eyes were blue, and full of wrath and fierceness. His nostrils were large, inasmuch as having a wide chest and a great heart, his lungs required an unusual quantity of air to moderate the heat of his blood. His handsome face had an expression of mildness and gentleness, but his great height, and the fierceness of his glances, inspired one with terror. He was more dreadful in his smiles than others in their anger."

Meantime Tancred led the army in good order to Constantinople, but, disdaining to become a vassal, took no heed of the emperor's invitation to visit the city, and passed with his troops over to Asia. This conduct filled the emperor with apprehension, but Boemond pledged himself that his nephew should take the oath of fealty.

The count of Flanders now arrived, having come by the same route as Boemond. He took the oath of vassalage without hesitation, received rich presents, and passed over with his army, and joined those of Godfrey and Boemond.

#### MARCH OF RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE.

COUNT RAYMOND and Archbishop Admar, having assembled their forces, set forth from Provence towards the close of the autumn of 1096. They marched through Lombardy, and, taking their route by Aquileia, entered Dalmatia. Of this country the Greeks and Latin Christians possessed the coast alone; the interior was in the hands of a portion of the Slavonian race.

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\* So the Greeks affected to call the Latins.

These, fearing the crusaders, abandoned their habitations, and retired to the woods and deep mountain-glens. A perpetual fog hung over this mountainous region, through which numerous rivers ran, forming everywhere lakes and marshes. Scarcely any provisions were to be found in the deserted villages, and if any pilgrims went out of the way to seek them, they were fallen on, and barbarously murdered by the people of the country. The same fate befell any of the sick or wearied who remained behind. All measures of precaution were vain; the enemies rushed unseen from the glen or the thicket, and the nature of the country and the dense fog enabled them to mock a pursuit. At length Count Raymond succeeded in making some prisoners, whom he put to death with dreadful tortures; and the Slaves became then more cautious in their attacks.

After a most distressing march of three weeks through this country, the Provençal pilgrims reached the fortress of Scodra (Scutari), where they concluded a treaty with Bodinus, the prince of the country. But his subjects little heeded the engagements of their prince, and twenty days of a march continually harassed by them brought the pilgrims to the Greek frontiers. They did not here meet all the security they had anticipated, as they found themselves annoyed by the Pechenegs,\* in the imperial service. In the neighbourhood of Pelegonia, the bishop of Puy was near being slain by them. He had gone with a small party to a little distance from the camp, probably to seize some articles of food, when he was suddenly fallen on, and but for one of their leaders, who in the hope of reward became his protector, would probably have lost his life. The Latins were greatly affected by the danger to which their bishop had been exposed, while the Greeks, who were deeply scandalized at the martial habits of the Western clergy, viewed it as a judgment from Heaven on him.

The Pechenegs made another attempt to impede the passage of the pilgrims through a narrow valley, at a fortress named Bucinat. The army marched through Thessalonica unimpeded; at Rugia they took and plun-

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\* These were a Slavonian tribe, some of which were in the imperial pay.



dered the town, on account of the hostility of the inhabitants; and at Rodestál defeated the Greek army that came against them. It is scarcely credible that so prudent a man as Alexius would have given orders for these useless attacks; they were more probably the result of the ill-regulated habits of his barbarian light troops, or the defensive measures of the people, irritated by the cupidity of the pilgrims.

#### RAYMOND AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

ENVOYS who had been sent forward now returned with an invitation for Count Raymond to the imperial city, and an assurance of as friendly a reception as had been given to Godfrey and Boemond. He accordingly left his army and proceeded thither. To make his audience the more solemn and imposing, Alexius invited Godfrey, Boemond, and the other chiefs, to come over from Asia, and give their presence at it. But unmoved by their presence and their example, the count of Toulouse steadily refused to take the oath of a vassal. When some of the crusaders expressed disapprobation of his obstinacy, he said, "When entering on this expedition, I swore to God, and I cannot take the oath to any man. Nay, it is wrong to do homage even to two earthly lords, for there might easily arise a conflict of duties, and the Western suzerain might regard and punish as a breach of fealty the adoption of an Eastern lord."

These words of Count Raymond emboldened some of the knights who were present. One stepped forth and reproached the emperor, demanding of him various allowances; ere he could make a reply, a second, a third, a fourth, advanced with equal noise and equal disregard of propriety. Alexius at first bore all patiently; at length he got up, and went over to the princes who had already taken the oath of homage to him. A knight named Robert of Paris, instantly advanced to the throne, and placed himself in the emperor's seat. At this act of profanation in *their* eyes, the Greeks were filled with horror; the Latins too were highly indignant, and Baldwin going up took him by the hand and drew him away, saying that it was want of manners anywhere know-



ingly to break through the customs of a country. But he made answer, "Is then that clown to sit alone while such noble princes are standing before him?" Alexius being informed of what he had said, inquired who and whence he was. The knight replied, "I am nothing but a Frank of noble blood, and will only say this to the emperor, that in my country there stands at a cross-road an ancient chapel, in which every one who will venture on a single combat, enters to pray and wait for an opponent. Oft have I there prayed, and long have I waited, but never yet found I one who would venture to engage me." The emperor answered, "You will now be more fortunate, if you really seek an opportunity of displaying your courage. Whether you are in the van or the rear, the Turks will not keep you waiting; hardly will you find your former security even in the centre."

Shortly after this interview, the camp of Raymond was attacked during the night by the Greeks, and several of the pilgrims slain. The hardships they had undergone, and this proof of the hostile spirit of those from whom they had looked for aid, so dispirited the Provençals, that but for the remonstrances of Ademar and the rest of their clergy, they would have given up the enterprise and returned home. As they accused the emperor as the cause of it, Alexius offered to clear himself by oath, adding that they must have brought the misfortune on themselves by their robbery and violence, and that his subjects were only defending their property. Raymond was not satisfied, however, with this explanation.

The other princes were now weary of the delay caused by the count, and Godfrey told him that if he persisted, he must fall beneath the power of the Greeks, as they would be unable for want of shipping to come to his aid; that if they left the Greeks enemies in their rear, they should be obliged to weaken their force by leaving a garrison in every town they took; that finally it could do him no harm to take the oath, while his doing so would be of the greatest service to the common cause. Still Raymond hesitated; at last Boemond, irritated with him, declared aloud that he would stand by the emperor against any attack. This language stung the count, and in the

presence of the emperor he gave vent to his feelings, saying, "Perjury and craft are as it were the heritage of every Norman. Hence he finds it easy to swear, and impossible to keep his oath." These words opened the eyes of Alexius; he saw that common hatred of Boemond would be a surer bond of union between himself and the count than any extorted oath, and he contented himself with Raymond's oath, that he would never commence or aid any hostility against the emperor's person or honour. Raymond then received the usual presents, and was very soon much further in the emperor's confidence than any of the other Latin princes.

The last army of pilgrims, led by Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, Stephen of Albemarle, and other chiefs, now arrived. They had come through Italy, saluted the pope at Lucca, wintered in Apulia, and sailed to Dyrrachium on the 5th of April, 1097. They reached Constantinople by the same route as Boemond, and after much hesitation took the oath and passed over to Asia.

#### THE CRUSADERS IN ASIA.

AT length, to the great joy of Alexius and his subjects, the whole of the pilgrims had passed over. The rudeness and violence of the Latins was offensive to the more polished Greeks; and though they in general paid for the provisions with which they were supplied, yet such a consumption, which had hardly been provided for, must have caused a considerable degree of inconvenience, more especially to those of the poorer sort. As to the emperor, their presence was to him a continual source of uneasiness and apprehension; their loquacity wearied him, and their cupidity exhausted his coffers. The princess his daughter has left a description of his annoyances to the following effect, which shows how unjust the Latin writers have been in their unmeasured vituperation of him.

To avoid giving offence to the Latin knights, Alexius complied with all their whims, even with great bodily exertion, though he was suffering grievously from the gout. No one was refused access to him, though their armed train was often so numerous as to fill the royal apartment. He listened to them at all hours, endured with patience their rude and haughty language, and severely rebuked

his officers, when they would defend the dignity of their emperor. He often seated himself on his throne at sunrise, and at sunset he had not left it; it frequently was the case that he got no time to eat or drink, and enjoyed only a brief unrefreshing slumber on his throne, resting his head on his hands, and it was speedily broken by the appearance of some rude knights who were just arrived. When his courtiers, worn out by fatigue, could stand no longer, and had sunk down, some on the seats, some on the ground, Alexius still rallied strength to listen to the wearisome chatter of the Latins, that they might have no pretext for discontent.

The emperor shortly after crossed over to Pelicanum, and the Latin princes entreated of him to join his forces to theirs, and, as a mode of putting an end to all suspicion and dispute, to take the supreme command of the expedition. But he knew too well the inferiority of his own troops to expose himself through them to the derision and insult of the Latins, and he declined the proffered honour under the plea of the danger his dominions would be exposed to from the Bulgarians, and other barbarians, during the absence of himself and his troops. He promised however to join them on a more favourable occasion, and meantime to take care that they should be supplied with provisions, and that no pilgrim who arrived should experience any impediment. He appointed Tacticius, a man equally skilled in war and in counsel, to be their guide through the countries they had to traverse.

At Nicomedia the pilgrims found the Hermit, and the miserable remnant of his army. He told how their own sins had hurried them to destruction, and he, doubtless, rejoiced in spirit when he beheld the fruits of his labours in the mighty host which now advanced to the conquest of Asia.

And of a surety this was a mighty host, though the numbers given by eye-witnesses, and others, probably far exceed the truth. According to the lowest of these computations, the Christian army, when marshalled on the Bosphorus, counted six hundred thousand souls, inclusive of the clergy, the women, and the children, of whom three hundred thousand were serviceable infantry, a hundred thousand mounted knights bearing corselet and helm,

sword and spear, and nineteen various tongues were spoken within the circuit of the camp. Never since the days of Xerxes did so many different nations unite for one object; but the slaves of the Persian marched at the mandate of a despot; free will alone impelled the warriors of Europe.

#### SIEGE OF NICÆA.

**S**ULEIMAN, a cousin of the Seljûkian sultan, Malek Shâh, having obtained the monarch's permission to make conquests in Room, *i. e.* the Greek Empire, had wrested the far larger portion of Lesser Asia from the dominion of the Byzantine emperors. The capital of the state which he founded was Iconium, where his son Kilij Arslân (*Sword-lion*)\* now reigned. As the recovery of his territories was the first object of Alexius, and as the pilgrims regarded all Moslems as enemies, no proposals for a passage were made, and the crusaders prepared to force a way by arms.

The idea that they were now in reality entering on the scene of their pious warfare, revived the enthusiasm of the pilgrims. Numbers of them bound themselves to go barefoot, unarmed, without money, under a leader of their own appointment, and thus to precede the march of the army. They lived upon roots and the plainest of food, laboured without ceasing to procure provisions for the army, shunned no toils or burdens, and in sieges and other operations were often found to be of the most essential service.

Of these pioneers three thousand now advanced before the army through the hills and woods, which lay between them and Nicæa, the first town of importance in the Turkish territory. They cut down the trees and set up crosses, to mark the road they had levelled; and on the 5th of May, 1097, the pilgrim army appeared before the walls of Nicæa, the former capital of Bithynia.†

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\* The historians, who are followed by Tasso, name Kilij Arslân Soliman, confounding him with his father.

† A very interesting description of the present state of Nicæa has been given in the 'Amulet' for 1832, by Dr. Walsh, who visited it. It is remarkable that the walls, which are six miles in circuit, are quite perfect, while the interior is one unbroken plain of grass, with barely the vestige of a habitation. Yet Nicæa was tolerably well peopled in the seventeenth century, but such is the effect of Turkish barbarism!



The city of Nicæa, celebrated as the scene of the Council of the Church held there in the year 325, at which the creed named from it was framed, lay in a rich and fertile plain about fifteen miles in extent: at a distance of about three miles, on the south and east, the ground after gradually rising forms hills of moderate elevation; on the west the city was washed by the lake Ascanius, which is on three sides environed by hills, among which it stretches for a distance of some miles, and whose wooded promontories running out into it render its appearance highly agreeable and picturesque. The city itself was large and handsome, its streets cutting each other at right-angles, and from the square in its centre might be seen at one view the four gates which gave admission into it. It was surrounded by lofty walls and deep ditches filled by the waters which ran from the surrounding hills. Kilij Arslân had supplied it with a strong garrison, and he had himself with a numerous army taken his post on the adjacent eminences.

As the pilgrims advanced over the plain, their grief and indignation was excited by the view of the heaps in which the remains of their unfortunate precursors lay mouldering: and the clergy animated their zeal by relating to them the former glory and sanctity of the city now in the hands of the infidels. The duke of Lorraine, the count of Flanders, and Hugh of France pitched with their forces on the east side of the city; Boemond and Tancred displayed their banners on the north; the south side was left for the count of Toulouse, who was not yet come up. The lake alone was open to the besieged, over which they easily obtained supplies, while the besiegers soon began to experience want. Boemond then returned to Constantinople, and arranged measures for a regular and constant market.

It was the desire of Alexius to gain Nicæa without the intervention of the crusaders. With this view his agent, Manuel Butumites, gave the inhabitants a dreadful and exaggerated description of the cruelties they would experience in case of its being taken by the Franks. The garrison gave ear to his overtures of a surrender to the emperor; but intelligence which came, that Kilij Arslân was hastening to their relief, reanimated their courage, and the negotiations were broken off.



The pilgrims had been now for four days assaulting the town: Kilij Arslân resolved to make his effort to relieve it before the troops of Count Raymond should come up. He sent two Turks disguised as pilgrims over the lake, to concert measures with the garrison for the attack; but one of them was shot by the Franks, and the other falling into their hands, revealed under the terror of death his plan to attack, on the following day in the afternoon, the troops of Duke Godfrey, while another division of his army should enter the city on the south side, and march out on the north and assail Boemond.

Messengers were immediately despatched to hasten the arrival of Count Raymond and the bishop of Puy. To their great joy, the pilgrims at daybreak the following morning beheld, and greeted with joyous clamour, the banners of the count and prelate, who had marched the whole night to their aid. They advanced and took in silence the station reserved for them on the south side of the town.

At about three in the afternoon, a body of ten thousand Turkish horse rushed from the hills, and made for the south gate of the city; but to their consternation, where they expected a void space, they found the ground occupied by a camp of the Christians. Undismayed, however, they fell on the Provençals, who were exhausted by their night-march; and though, animated by the valiant bishop, they made a stout resistance, they would have succumbed if the other pilgrims had not hastened to their relief. Just at this moment Kilij Arslân in person came down, at the head of forty thousand horse, and assailed the united pilgrims; but the admonitions of the bishop of Puy infusing vigour into the bosom of the Provençals, all fought with emulative valour, and toward evening the Turks retired, leaving four thousand dead on the field. The victors cut off the heads of the slain; some they displayed on the points of their lances before the walls, others they flung with their machines into the town. Some they sent to the emperor Alexius as a proof of their victory.

Kilij Arslân, seeing the superiority of the crusaders, now retired, leaving the garrison and inhabitants to their own courage and efforts. The pilgrim army was augmented by the arrival of the troops of the duke of Nor-

mandy, the count of Blois, and other leaders, and they redoubled their efforts; the garrison lost not courage; the assaults were gallant; the defence was equally heroic.

Timber was now hewn in the neighbouring woods, and the machines named *sows* (*Scrofæ*), for covering those who approached to undermine the walls, were constructed. Counts Henry and Hermann of Ascha, two German nobles, built, of enormous beams of oak, a machine named a *fox*, capable of covering twenty men. It was advanced against the walls, but the besieged cast great stones upon it, and it gave way, crushing to death all who were under it. When parties of the pilgrims advanced to assail the walls, they were usually slain by the stones or darts flung by the besieged.

Seven toilsome weeks were now passed away, and no apparent progress had been made in the siege. It was clear that as long as the lake was open for the conveyance of supplies and intelligence into the town, there were little hopes of success. The princes therefore sent to entreat of the emperor, who was at Pelicanum with his troops waiting the result, to supply them with vessels to launch on the lake. Alexius readily consented, but as his ships carried from one hundred to one hundred and fifty men, the pilgrims could not at first conceive the possibility of transporting them overland from Kibotus to the lake. By means, however, of large sledges, and by joining large waggons together in proportion to the size of the ships, and with the aid of levers, ropes, and a vast number of men, they were set in motion and conveyed to the lake. Some of them were manned by Turcopoles, the rest by pilgrims; the fleet was commanded by Butumites.

To their dismay, one morning the besieged beheld a hostile fleet close under the town. The crusaders, reckoning on the terror they had thus inspired, made a general assault, but the besieged defended themselves gallantly; their darts, arrows, and stones, stretched many a valiant pilgrim lifeless on the earth; boiling oil, melted pitch and fat, were poured down from the walls; the machines were set on fire, and the assailants were at last forced to retreat to their camp. Duke Godfrey gained great fame on this occasion by prostrating with his crossbow a gigantic Turk, who had slain several Christians.

The crusaders now applied themselves to the construction of stronger machines, and to the filling up of the trenches. Count Raymond, whose wealth enabled him to undertake more costly works than the other princes, raised a huge tower, secured by wicker-work and raw hides against the weapons and the fire of the besieged, and brought it close to the walls. While from this they fought hand to hand, the other princes battered a tower at the other side of the city; but their artillery being too feeble to make any impression on it, Count Raymond came to their aid with more powerful engines, and a breach was effected, in it, through which they hoped to be able to make entrance in the morning. But during the night the besieged ran up a new wall behind the breach, and day displayed to the disappointed crusaders the prostration of their hopes. In a rage a Norman knight ran in his armour against the new wall to pull it down, but he was crushed by the stones that were flung upon him; and with iron hooks, fixed on poles, the Turks drew his body up, and stripped it of its armour, in sight of his comrades. They then flung it down, and the Christians interred it with mourning hearts, but they felt assured that he had gained eternal salvation by thus perishing in the cause of Heaven.

Many now began to doubt of the possibility of taking the town, and even questioned if they were not acting in violation of their vow, by thus wasting their time and strength before it. While they were thus hesitating, a Lombard came to the princes, and engaged, if they would furnish him with the necessary funds from the common chest, to throw down within a few days the tower which had hitherto defied their efforts. They joyfully assented, and promised him over and above a handsome recompense in case of success. He then framed a penthouse of prodigious strength, whose sides formed such acute angles, that huge millstones would make no impression on it, and even fire would glide off before it could do any injury. Under shelter of this, he and his comrades went close to the tower, and began to sap its foundation. As they extracted the stones, they put sods and other combustible matters in their place, and when they had made the aperture sufficiently large, they set fire to them and

retired. The sods gradually smouldered away; in the middle of the night a tremendous crash was heard, and the ground shook as if from an earthquake. The crusaders to their great joy beheld in the morning the tower prostrate on the ground; the sight was a painful one to the besieged, but they ran up a new wall, and repelled the first assaults of the impatient pilgrims.

#### SURRENDER OF NICÆA.

IT was evident that the town must soon be captured. To secure it for the emperor, Butumites again made overtures to the garrison and people. He set before them the terrors they might expect if the Franks took it by assault, and at the same time showed them that an engagement in writing from Alexius, assuring not alone Christians but Turks of safety, and the wife of Kilij Arslân, who was in the town, a large reward if it were given up to him. His offers were accepted, and it was arranged, for the preservation of the town, that Tacticus, who was in the Christian camp with two thousand Greek troops, should excite the pilgrims next morning to a general assault, and that during the confusion he and his troops should be admitted into the town at one of the gates, while Butumites should land and enter it from the lake.

All took place as had been arranged, and in the heat of the engagement the pilgrims, to their utter astonishment, beheld the Greek banners floating on the walls. They could not conceive how the town had been taken, as all the gates were shut, and in their surprise they suspended their attacks. Butumites, now that he was in possession of the town, was equally apprehensive of the Turks and of the Franks. His first care was to convey the former in small divisions over the lake to the emperor. It happened that one of the last of these divisions being negligently guarded, rose on and made their escort prisoners. They were going to bring them to Kilij Arslân, when a Greek representing to them the danger to which they would expose themselves on account of the superior power of the Greeks and Franks, beside the loss of the presents they might expect from the emperor, they gave up their project and followed him voluntarily to the



imperial presence. Alexius received all the Turks graciously, and after some time dismissed them with gifts, as he also did the wife and two children of Kilij Arslân, whom the crusaders had intercepted in their attempt to escape over the lake, and sent to him. The prudent emperor hoped thus to gain the Turks, for the pilgrims would soon be gone, and mayhap perish; and he would then, if he acted with harshness, have a severe vengeance to apprehend.

The case was more difficult to manage with the crusaders. According to the treaty between them and the emperor, he was to have all the towns they should take within the former limits of the empire; but all the booty, the gold, silver, horses, etc., were to be theirs, and they now insisted on the execution of the treaty. They were further exacerbated by the needless precautions of Butumites, who would only admit them ten at a time into the town to visit the churches and perform their devotions. Alexius with his usual prudence sought to avert the storm; he promised the princes large presents, sent money to the knights and the poor pilgrims, and gave up to them all the provisions that were in the place. This however did not content them, they regarded it as a sort of sin to leave unpillaged a town defiled by the infidels; and the princes had difficulty to keep them from assaulting Nicæa anew.

#### HOMAGE OF TANCRED.

AS Tancred and some others had not yet taken the oath of fealty, the princes repaired to Pelicanum, to visit the emperor. Audience was given in the magnificent imperial tent, presents were distributed among the chiefs, the oath was readily taken by the others, but still Tancred hesitated; he was bound, he said, to his uncle Boemond alone, and he would be true to him till death. "But," added he, "if thou wilt march with us to Jerusalem, and fight for the honour of God and Christ, there can be no cause of strife betwixt us." The courtly Greeks sneered at the blunt rudeness of the *barbarian*, and one of them said to him, that if he persisted in this conduct, he would miss the rich presents destined for him. Tancred, in whose soul avarice had no part, looked round the



splendid tent, the burden of twenty camels, in which he was standing, and said, "Then he must give me this tent filled with valuables of every kind, and moreover as much presents as he has given to all the other princes, if I will be his vassal."

"What!" said the emperor, when he heard this, "must he be like me, and have imperial honours? Why not ask my crown?"

A young man of the imperial family of the Palæologi, sneeringly inquired of the Norman knight if he would put it on his horse, and follow himself behind on foot, as the driver; adding that he deserved to be thrust out of the assembly. Tancred grasped his sword, and rushed forward to attack him, but Boemond and the emperor sprang up together to separate them. At length, at the entreaties and remonstrances of Boemond, Tancred took the required oath. But all real concord between the Greeks and the pilgrims was now at an end.

#### BATTLE OF DORYLÆUM.

NICÆA was taken on the 20th of June, and nine days afterwards the pilgrim army set forth on its way for Syria. But many of the pilgrims shrank from the toils to be encountered, or, lured by the magnitude of the imperial pay, remained and entered the service of the emperor. Tacticius and his troops went on with the army to act as guides, and to garrison the conquered towns. The second day's march brought the pilgrims to Leucas, where they crossed the river Bathys, and entered on the pleasant and fertile valley of Gorgoni, near Dorylæum. Here, for the convenience of the march, the army separated into two divisions—one, composed of the troops of Boemond, the duke of Normandy, and the counts of Blois and St. Paul, moved to the left; the remainder of the army marched on the right, at no inconsiderable distance.

Meanwhile Kilij Arslân was not inactive; he invited to his aid all the Turkman hordes that roamed the plains of Lesser Asia, and he now counted beneath his banners a host of one hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, with which he kept near the pilgrims. On the morn of the 1st of July, the first division of the army were roused

from their repose by the trumpets and the cries of their sentinels, and soon the neighing and tramping of steeds in the distance, and the war-cries of an enemy, reached their ears. No time was lost in drawing up the waggons and baggage along the edge of a marshy ground overgrown with reeds, and placing the women and children behind them. They then made ready for battle ; but ere their array was complete, the clouds of Turkish horse poured down upon them, showering a dense hail of arrows. The pilgrims pressed forward, but the foes awaited them not : they fled, then as quickly returned, and sent forth another flight of arrows, or assailed them on another side. This unusual mode of warfare perplexed the Christians ; the heat of the day which was now advancing exhausted them ; many were wounded and slain ; among the last was Tancred's brother William, and he was himself indebted for his safety to Boemond. The women meanwhile were not inactive, they supplied the warriors with drink, and exhorted them to perseverance ; but new squadrons of the Turks continually came down, and at length the exhausted pilgrims were forced to retreat behind their line of waggons, or seek shelter among the reeds : many hopeless of life confessed their sins to the priests, and, if we may credit one of the historians, not a few of the women, preferring slavery to death, arrayed themselves in their finest clothes, hoping to subdue the hearts of the conquerors by their charms, and thus obtain a milder lot. The Turks pressed in on all sides, pillaging and slaughtering ; women and maidens fell on their knees to implore their mercy. At this moment of despair, the duke of Lorraine, the count of Toulouse, Hugh of France, and other chiefs, were seen approaching at the head of forty thousand horsemen, for messengers had been despatched to inform them of the danger of their brethren. The pilgrims now made a general attack on the Turks, but were driven back three times ; at length the warlike bishop of Puy led a strong division round a hill and fell on the Turks, who, thus assailed on two sides, gave way and fled. They fought, however, as they retreated, and many of their pursuers fell by their arrows. About three thousand Turks lay slain ; the loss of the pilgrims was greater, for two thousand men of noble birth, and an equal num-

ber of the meaner sort, had fallen.\* The camp of the enemy, well supplied with provisions and valuables of various kinds, became their prey, and the droves of captured camels excited the amazement of the pilgrims, few of whom had ever before seen these animals.

This hard-fought battle inspired both Turks and Franks with respect for each other; Kilij Arslân ventured no more to impede the pilgrims, and the crusaders said aloud, "Had the Turks but the true faith, they would be the first warriors in the world; for it is only the Franks and Turks who are warriors by nature, and born for combat and feats of arms."

In reality there is a certain degree of resemblance between the Turks and the Gotho-Germanic race, to which most of the crusaders belonged. These last exceed in physical power all other races of the West, and have conquered every people with whom they have come into conflict; the Turks are the same in the East, they have overcome Hindoos, Persians, Arabs, and every other people, and it is remarkable that in their progress westwards, they met no permanent check till they encountered the Germans. They are also, to use the expression of a distinguished Orientalist, "empire-founding," like the Germans; but while these last are perhaps the most improvable portion of the human family, the Turks seem actually incapable of making any progress in social or intellectual development. Barbarism is their characteristic, every land languishes beneath their sway, and the best-known portion of them, the Ottomans, have lost the rude energy of their fathers, without learning to supply its place by the powers which result from civilization. How different the condition of the nations of the Germanic blood!

The present seems to be the most suitable place to inform our readers of the different arms and modes of fighting of the Turks and the crusaders.

The Turkish troops were almost all cavalry, their arms were the bow, the mace, and the scymitar; at a later period they adopted the use of the lance, from the cru-

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\* Among the slain was Robert of Paris, and the princess Anna relates his death with evident complacency.

saders. Instead of advancing to the charge in a line, they threw their wings forward, keeping back the centre, so that they apparently formed three divisions. If one of the wings was attacked, the centre came to its aid; if the centre, the wings closed on the enemy; if the wing could not hold out till the centre came to its relief, it fled, and enticed the enemy to pursue, then turned when it saw the other wing ready to fall on the enemy's flank or rear. They fought in effect just as the Parthians did of old, flying and showering their arrows on the pursuers.

The greatest part of the Christian army consisted of infantry, who wore no armour, and had only wooden bows; the possessor of a good sword or crossbow attracted consideration. The knight wore a shirt-of-mail, (plate armour not being yet in use,) and a plain helmet; he bore a shield of iron or plated wood, adorned with gold or silver, or painted with various colours; he held in his hand an ashen spear with a sharp iron head, from which usually fluttered a pennon, and a straight cross-handled sword hung by his side. The army was divided into different corps, each of which advanced in turn against the enemy.

#### MARCH OF THE PILGRIMS.

**A**FTER this victory, the pilgrims abode for the space of two days in the pleasant valley of Gorgoni, to recruit their vigour and prepare for the toils of their future progress. Conscious of the danger they had run by parting their forces, they resolved to separate no more. As they advanced, they gradually found the fertility of the land decrease; for Phrygia, on which they now were entered, is under even the most favourable circumstances incapable of yielding sufficient supplies for an army, and Kilij Arslân had been careful to remove or destroy all the stores of provisions that were in it.

It was now the scorching month of July, the land was a desert, water was hardly to be procured, no food could be had but the ears of the standing corn, which the pilgrims rubbed in their hands. The horses were the first to fail under these privations, and many of the knights, unable from exhaustion to proceed on foot, might now be seen mounted on oxen. The baggage was put in such portions as they could carry on the backs of the dogs,





A Christian Knight.



Turkish Horseman.





goats, sheep, and even the swine, which they had with them. Soon these also failed beneath the heat and the fatigue.

Many men now died of exhaustion, and women brought forth the untimely fruit of their womb in the midst of the camp and on the march. Yet never did the nobler qualities of the pilgrim shine forth so gloriously as amidst these sufferings; their patience was invincible, their brotherly love most ardent, their unity unbroken, their confidence in the guidance of a higher power was never shaken even for a moment.

At length, to their inexpressible joy, led by the sagacity of their dogs, they reached an abundant river, and entered on the fruitful region of the Phrygian Antioch; but the eagerness with which they sought to quench the thirst which tormented them, proved as fatal to many of the pilgrims as the preceding scarcity. They were also at this time very near losing two of their most distinguished leaders.

Count Raymond had been for some time so unwell as to be carried in a litter. His death had seemed so near that the bishop of Orange had administered to him the last sacraments of the Church, and at one time his attendants actually thought him dead. The joy of the army when he began to amend, proved the value they now set on the life of the count of Toulouse.

While the army stayed in the pleasant district of Antioch, the princes, according to their wont, went into the neighbouring woods to take the amusement of the chase. Duke Godfrey, who was alone in a dense part of the forest, hearing the cries of a poor pilgrim, who, as he was cutting wood, was assailed by a monstrous bear, hastened to his relief. The bear, quitting the pilgrim, advanced to attack his new enemy; he seized the duke by the cloak, and dragged him to the ground. In his efforts to draw his sword, which was entangled between his legs, Godfrey gave himself a severe wound with it in the thigh. He, however, jumped up, seized the animal with the left hand, and continued to strike him with his armed right hand. At length the cries of the pilgrim, and the howling of the bear, brought some of the other hunters to the spot, and a knight, named Hasequin, despatched the monster with

a sword. The duke was borne, in a state of exhaustion, to the camp, and his appearance caused a universal lamentation.

#### TANCRED AND BALDWIN AT TARSUS.

AS on account of Duke Godfrey's wound, and in order that the pilgrims in general might recruit their strength sufficiently, it was necessary to remain some time where they were, the princes resolved to send forward in the meantime Tancred, and Baldwin the brother of Godfrey, to explore the country, and to get intelligence, if possible, of the movements of the Turks. Baldwin marched at the head of seven hundred knights, and two thousand foot; Tancred was followed by five hundred knights, and a proportionate number of foot. They advanced together by the way of Iconium to Heraclea. Here Tancred turned to the left, and entered Cilicia, through one of the narrow and picturesque defiles which give a passage into that fruitful region, and he directed his course to the city of Tarsus, the capital of the country.

Tarsus, celebrated as the birth-place of the apostle Paul, lies at a short distance from the sea. It was a place of considerable trade; its inhabitants were Christian Greeks, and Armenians, but the power was in the hands of the Turkish garrison. Tancred tried, by means of an Armenian, to induce the people to deliver the town to him, but they were too much in awe of the garrison to make the attempt. The Turks soon came forth to engage the crusaders; they were speedily driven back with loss, and then, fearing the inhabitants, and knowing that the great body of the pilgrims would soon arrive, they agreed to allow Tancred's banner to be planted on the walls; the surrender was deferred till the arrival of Boemond. Tancred meantime remained encamped before the gates.

Baldwin, who had taken a different route, had passed through a region where his men suffered greatly from want of provisions. At length they attained the summit of a mountain, whence the view extended over a fruitful land spotted with towns and villages, and terminated by the sea. They descended and advanced, till from the summit of a hill which they mounted they beheld a city near the sea, and a camp before its walls. At the same moment

the glitter of their arms was discerned from the camp and town. The garrison (for the town was Tarsus) set up a shout of joy, thinking it was a Turkish army coming to their relief, and loudly threatened the Normans. Tancred, who was of the same opinion, lost not his self-possession; and Baldwin, on his side, deemed both town and camp to be Turkish. The two armies moved with hostile banners against each other, but soon the Turks had the mortification to see them lay aside their arms, and embrace each other as brethren.

Baldwin's troops now took up their quarters with those of Tancred, by whom they were abundantly supplied with provisions and refreshment. But harmony did not long exist between the chiefs. The following morning, when Baldwin beheld the banner of Tancred waving on the walls of the town, and heard of the convention that had been made with the Turks, he saw at once into the project that was formed, of making this the commencement of a Norman dominion. He broke out into the most violent and contemptuous expressions towards Tancred and Boemond, and required that the town should either be plundered, or one-half of it given up to him. Tancred replied that, by virtue of the convention he had made, and on account of his being the first who appeared before the town, he had a right to plant his standard there, and that he could not consent to the town's being plundered, or to share it with another, unless the people on being asked anew should give the preference to Baldwin, or try the fate of arms. Deputies came from the town, and as they had never heard of a duke of Lorraine, they once more declared that Tancred should be their master. Baldwin burst into a rage, and cried to them in the presence of Tancred, "You ignorantly and foolishly imagine Boemond and this Tancred here to be the greatest men in the army, while the supreme command has been by common consent conferred on my brother,\* and they are as inferior to him in nobleness of birth as in number of troops. In sooth, Boemond and Tancred, so far from being able to protect you from the punishment which

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\* This assertion of Baldwin could not have been true, we shall see in the sequel.

will follow resistance to my commands, would only draw down on themselves a portion of it." The inhabitants, in terror, instantly pulled down the banner of Tancred, and flung it into the ditch, and Baldwin's was displayed in its stead. Tancred, inferior in power, and also little inclined to violate his vow by a contest with Christians, withdrew to the town of Adana, which had lately been taken by a Bugundian baron, named Wolf; in conjunction with whom, he the following day made the conquest of Mamistra. As the plunder in this place was considerable, they resolved to abide there some days, and give their men repose.\*

The retreat of Tancred was a clear proof to the people of Tarsus of the superior power of Baldwin. Moved by his threats and his representations, they now gave him possession of two strong towers, and assigned his men quarters in their houses. The remaining tower and some of the gates were still in the hands of the Turks, who, as they had little hopes of being relieved, resolved not to await the arrival of the main body of the crusaders, but to depart silently by night with their property. On the evening of the day which they had fixed for the execution of their project, there arrived three hundred of Boemond's men, who craved admittance and a supply of provisions. Baldwin, in his hostility to the Normans, refused both the one and the other. They were obliged to encamp before the walls, and the pilgrims, who were within the town, more compassionate than Baldwin and his counsellors, lowered them meat and drink with ropes from the wall. Having refreshed themselves with food, they went to rest, suspecting no danger in a place subject to their brethren. But meantime the Turks had assembled, and favoured by the darkness of the night, they issued forth at one of the gates, directed their steps to the camp of the newly-arrived pilgrims, fell upon them in their sleep, and left not a man of them alive, and then fled to join their brethren. When morning broke, the Turks were missed, and soon the horrors of the night reached the ears of the pilgrims, and filled them with rage against Baldwin, and the other leaders, whose unchristian con-

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\* *Jer. Deliv.* c. v. st. 48.



duct had thus exposed to destruction their comrades in the hallowed cause. They seized their arms, and the leaders saved themselves with difficulty from their arrows in one of the strong towers. Baldwin excused himself by saying, that he had pledged his word to the Turks not to admit any one into the town before the arrival of the duke of Lorraine. This excuse did not fully content them, but when they had in some measure satiated their vengeance by the slaughter of such of the Turks as were still in the town, their indignation yielded to the soothing influence of time and reason.

#### FIGHT BETWEEN THE PILGRIMS.

A FEW days after peace had been restored in Tarsus, a fleet was discerned out at sea. Uncertain whether it might be friendly or hostile, the pilgrims hastened in arms down to the shore, and, to their joy, recognized their brethren in the faith. The fleet was commanded by one Guinemar of Bouillon, who was born a subject of duke Godfrey; it was manned by pirates from Flanders, Holland, and Friesland, who had been for some time pursuing their original vocation in the Mediterranean, plundering the infidels instead of their fellow-Christians, as heretofore. Guinemar recognized Baldwin as his natural lord, and he and a large portion of his men resolved to abandon their ships, take the cross, and join the pilgrims.

Strengthened by this accession of force, Baldwin now resolved to advance to Mamistra. On arriving there he encamped in the gardens before the town, and the new comers and the inhabitants soon began to traffic with each other; but some trifling disputes taking place between them, the Normans sided warmly with their new subjects; trifles were magnified on both sides into intentional insults, and both were eager to have recourse to arms. But neither Baldwin nor Tancred would take on him the responsibility of giving the word for attack; and the former, moreover, was awed by the strength of the walls of the town, while the latter feared to lead his troops, which were inferior in number, into the open field. A few only, therefore, on either side ventured out, in hopes that these little combats might give a pretext for a regular engagement.

A Norman baron, Richard, prince of Salerno, now hastened to Tancred, and said to him, "Of a truth thou now showest thyself to be like the merest poltroons, for if thou hadst either spirit or courage, thou wouldst without hesitation take vengeance on Baldwin, who ravished Tarsus from thee, and insulted thee and thine in the grossest manner. Some are already fighting to clear thee from this reproach. So give at once orders for all to arm and fall on." Tancred gave his consent. In the onset several of Baldwin's men were slain, but as soon as they had time to get themselves in array, they drove back the Normans. The contest however was kept up warmly, especially on the bridge over the stream which runs by the town, till night parted the combatants. Among those who were slain was Richard of Salerno, the original author of this civil contest.

Next morning, when cool reflection had taken the place of wrath, and they saw the loss on both sides, they repented bitterly of what they had done. Peace and concord were immediately re-established, and the prisoners who had been made, released on both sides.

#### BALDWIN'S DEPARTURE.

**T**IDINGS now reached Baldwin of the dangerous state of Duke Godfrey, and fearing that, if absent in case of his death, he should lose the opportunity of claiming to succeed him in his authority, he laid everything aside, and hastened to join the main army.

The crusaders had advanced unopposed from Antioch by Iconium and Heraclea, on the way to Marasia. The Turks, aware of the inutility of encountering them in the field, had fled to the mountains with all their property, hoping that the want of provisions would accomplish their destruction. But the rapidity with which the pilgrims moved, rendered vain these expectations. It was only in the neighbourhood of Marasia that they experienced any difficulty. Here they had to ascend a steep mountain by narrow and dangerous paths; several of their beasts of burden tumbled down into the deep valleys, and were dashed to pieces, and many warriors, overcome by the toil of the ascent, flung away corselet, helm, and arms, unable to sustain their weight. At length they reached the val-

ley in which Marasia stands, and found that town abandoned by the Turks.

Here Baldwin joined the army. Duke Godfrey was now perfectly recovered, and he and all the princes, as well as the pilgrims, great and small, united in expressing their indignation at the unworthy conduct of Baldwin towards the gallant Tancred, and the inhumanity which had caused the death of so many pilgrims. Respect for Godfrey alone withheld Boëmond from exacting vengeance with his own hand. Baldwin excused himself as he had done before to his own men, promised to give satisfaction, and sought in every way to appease the anger of the pilgrims.

Seeing, however, that the minds of many were alienated from him, he resolved to seek a new field for his ambition, and began to lend an attentive ear to the suggestions of one Pancratius, an Armenian Christian, who had attached himself to him at the time of the siege of Nicæa. Pancratius was a man of courage and of capacity, artful and ingenious, well acquainted with the state of all that country. He represented to Baldwin, that as the number of the Turks was small, and that of the Christian inhabitants large, in the interior of the land, the conquest of the country as far as the Euphrates would be a task of no great difficulty. One of the old historians of the first crusade describes Pancratius as leading Baldwin (as the tempter did our Lord) up to the summit of Mount Taurus, and from thence pointing out to his view the various fruitful realms, consecrated by historic associations, which lay spread around in prospect. This however, we apprehend, is rather a display of the talent and knowledge of the writer, than the narrative of a real event.

Baldwin let himself be persuaded, and he now sought to engage companions for his enterprise; but the dislike in which he was held, on account of his pride and his treatment of the noble Tancred, was such, that at first no knight would place himself under his banner. By dint of promises, however, he at last induced two hundred knights, and about twelve or fifteen hundred foot-men, to join him. This project gave great offence to the other chiefs, and they concerted with the prelates to issue an order prohi-

biting any of the crusaders to separate from the main body of the army. Baldwin having had timely intimation of this design, departed with his troops during the night, and, led by Pancratius, advanced towards the Euphrates.

As he proceeded, the Christians joyfully opened to him the gates of their towns, the Turks abandoned such places as they occupied, and he soon saw himself master of Tell-basher,\* Ravendan, and other places this side of the river. As a reward for his services, he bestowed the government of Ravendan on Pancratius; but feigning that he could not think of quitting his friend and benefactor, that artful Armenian set his son over the place, giving him a secret charge not to admit any Franks into the fortress; he at the same time himself opened a communication with the Turks. Information, however, of Pancratius' treachery was conveyed from Armenia to Baldwin, who demanded that, as a proof of his fidelity, he should admit a Frank garrison into Ravendan; but neither fair means nor slight torture could induce him to consent, and it was only by threatening to cut him into quarters, that Baldwin was enabled to draw from him an order to his son to deliver up the place. He was then expelled from the camp.

#### BALDWIN AT EDESSA.

THE fame of Baldwin soon passed the river and reached Edessa. This city had, in the year 1086, become tributary to the Seljûkian sultan, Malek Shâh, and was so far favoured, that there were no Turks residing within its walls. Its affairs were directed by a council of twelve, at the head of whom was Theodore, the former imperial governor. But Theodore was now old, and the strength of the citizens feeble, the Turks of the vicinity daily advancing in insolence, the lands were plundered, commerce impeded, and such of the citizens as fell into their hands obliged to pay heavy ransoms. Urged therefore by his council, and by the people, Theodore sent a deputation to Baldwin, inviting him to come to the defence of the town, and offering him one-half of the revenues, and a half share of the government, and the entire after his death.

Baldwin lent a willing ear to these proposals. He lost

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\* The *Turbessel* of the historians.



no time in setting forth, but on coming to the Euphrates he found, through the exertions of Pancratius, a strong body of Turks waiting to receive him. He instantly returned to Tellbasher, pursued by the enemy, who spent three days plundering the country, and then retired. Baldwin then, with two hundred knights, set forward again, and crossed the Euphrates, without meeting any hindrance. He safely reached Edessa, where the prince and council, the clergy and people, came forth to meet their expected deliverer; and such was their joy at the sight of him, that many kissed the feet of himself and his fellow-warriors. They entered the town amidst hymns of joy and thanksgiving.

The only discontented person was Theodore, the old governor, who saw that Baldwin was now more thought of than himself. He therefore sought to depress him, and maintained the meaning of his proposals to be, that Baldwin should have yearly a reasonable remuneration for defending the place against the Turks, but without any share in the government. But Baldwin, who disdained receiving the pay of a Greek, his inferior in birth and in power, declared at once that he would return to the main army of the crusaders. Whether he was in earnest in this menace, or hoped thereby to make better terms, it had all the effect he could desire. The council and the people forced the old prince to make good his original offers, and also to adopt Baldwin as his son.

To prove his gratitude to the people of Edessa, Baldwin now led his forces against Balduk the Turkish emir of Samosata, who had frequently done the Edessenes much mischief, by plundering their fields and seizing their persons. Balduk was unable to keep the field against the Franks, who, on their side, unskilled in the attack of strong places, could make no impression on the walls of his town; Baldwin therefore, leaving a garrison in a neighbouring castle to harass Samosata, returned to Edessa.

The Edessenes, with the usual want of reflection of the populace, contrasting their present state of ease and security with their previous state of terror and alarm, and not considering what the real cause of the change was, threw all the blame on their old governor; his avarice,



extortion, and treachery had, they thought, been the cause of all the evils, both internal and external, that they had endured. All orders of the people armed, and in a body, with Constantine, the lord of some adjacent castles at their head, came to Baldwin, and declared that with his aid they were resolved to put their old prince to death, and transfer the dignity to him. But Baldwin made answer, "Far be it from me, that I should lay a hand on a man whom I have acknowledged as a father, and to whom I have bound myself by an oath. Were I thus to defile myself with blood, I should be abhorred by all the Christian princes. Rather let me hasten to him, and advise him to what may be most for the advantage of him and you alike."

This proposal was assented to, and just at that instant came a messenger from the prince, entreating of Baldwin to mediate between him and the people, as they had already surrounded his house and were menacing him with all kinds of rigours. He was willing to give up all his treasures, and lay down his dignity if they would only spare his life. Baldwin tried to prevail on the people to agree to these conditions, but they all cried, "No, he shall die for his avarice and correspondence with the Turks." The prince learning this, and judging that Baldwin would not have the power, even if he had the inclination to save him, thought his only chance of safety lay in flight. He therefore let himself down by a cord at the rear of his palace, but the people caught a sight of him as he was descending, and he fell dead to the ground, pierced with numerous arrows. They cut off the head of the old man and stuck it on the point of a lance, and dragged his trunk through the town. Next morning Baldwin was, after some affected reluctance, invested with the vacant dignity, the oath of allegiance was sworn, and the treasure of his predecessor delivered up to him. There is certainly no reason for suspecting him of being concerned in the murder of the unfortunate old prince, whose avarice and extortion appear to have irritated the people; but we should admire Baldwin more, if he had exerted himself more vigorously to restrain the violence of the populace.

Balduk of Samosata, apprehensive that he would not be long able to resist the vigour of the new prince of Edessa,

offered to give his town up to him for ten thousand pieces of gold. Baldwin not thinking it to be for his honour to purchase what he expected to take by force, declined the proposal; but when Balduk threatened to defend the place to the last extremity, and to put to death such of the Edessenes and pilgrims as were in his hands, the Frank prince deemed it advisable to part with a portion of his treasures, rather than sacrifice the lives of his new subjects and of his companions in arms. The bargain was concluded, and Balduk himself came to reside at Edessa.

Shortly afterwards Saruj, the only town that interrupted the communication between Edessa and Antioch, came under the power of Baldwin. Its people having rebelled against Balak, their lord, and refused to pay the customary tribute, he himself called on Baldwin to reduce them to obedience. His call met with a ready response, and after having sustained a vigorous attack of three days, the people of Saruj were glad to submit on being promised security for their lives and properties. They had by their lavish promises induced Balduk, the former prince of Samosata, to collect soldiers, and come to their aid; but when he arrived he found that the town had already surrendered. He then declared that he had come to the aid of Baldwin, who, either believing or affecting to believe him, returned with him to Edessa on as friendly terms as before.

Baldwin was now the lord of a considerable territory. He set governors in the conquered places, regulated the amount of the taxes, and discharged all the duties of an able and prudent ruler.

#### ADVANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN ARMY.

WHILE Baldwin was thus establishing his dominion beyond the Euphrates, his rival, Tancred, was winning both lands and wealth. All the towns and castles around Mamistra submitted to him, and he received large sums of money from both Turks and Armenians, in return for safety and protection. He took by assault, after a vigorous defence, the town of Alexandretta. The Turkish garrison here were put to the sword by the pilgrims, and soon after Tancred departed to join the great host of the crusaders who were now at Artasia.

The difficulties of the way were now all overcome, the

steep ranges of Taurus and Amánus were left behind, and the pilgrims, after a rest of some days at Marasia, were again in motion for Syria. The Turks fled from all the towns and villages as they approached, and the Christian inhabitants came forth with joy to meet and welcome them. They were also cheered by the illusive tidings of the great city of Antioch having been deserted by its garrison. They now drew near to Artasia, a flourishing town, but fifteen miles distant from Antioch; and on the appearance of Count Robert of Flanders, with the advanced corps of the army, the inhabitants rose on the Turkish garrison, and opened their gates to admit the crusaders. The Turks of Antioch, hearing what had happened, sent a party of light cavalry to entice the Christians out of the town, and when that stratagem failed they laid close siege to it. But on the approach of the main army they deemed it expedient to give over the siege and retire, as they found that Robert of Normandy was preparing to get with his forces into their rear, and cut them off from Antioch.

At Artasia were now assembled all the pilgrims, except those who were with Baldwin at Edessa. The number of those who appeared under arms was, it is said, three hundred thousand, all full of hope and animated with zeal. By the advice of the legate Ademar, it was resolved that there should be no more private and independent enterprises like those of Baldwin and Tancred, but that the whole army should act in concert for the one great object that was in view.

Robert of Normandy meantime pursued the Turks of Antioch, and came to the handsome, ancient stone bridge which crossed the river Orontes. This bridge was defended by two strong towers on either side, garrisoned by a hundred Turkish soldiers; a large party of Turks also occupied the further bank. The Norman prince and his men boldly commenced the attack, but their corselets availed not to repel the Turkish arrows, and the bridge was gallantly maintained till repeated messages brought up the whole crusading army, and then the Turks yielded to numbers and retired. The pilgrims crossed the river, some by the bridge, others by fords which they discovered, and encamped along its banks. The next morning they

advanced toward Antioch, with the Orontes running through a narrow valley on their right, huge, broken, pointed rocks towering in view on its further side.

#### DESCRIPTION OF ANTIOCH.

THE city of Antioch, celebrated alike in ancient history and in that of the church, is situated in a beautiful valley about ten miles distant from the Mediterranean Sea. To the north of the town, a lofty mountain runs westwards and terminates in a promontory on the coast of the sea; another range nearly in the same direction but far inland, extends between Antioch and Aleppo. The waters of both meet in the lake Ofrinus, which lies north of the town, and abounds in fish. The circuit of the lake is a day's journey, and it is connected with the Orontes by a stream of no great magnitude. The Orontes itself rises in the mountains north of Damascus, flows then northwards in a narrow, savage valley, till rocks on the east, and the gradual sinking of the land on the west, suddenly give it a westerly direction, and it approaches Antioch from the north-east, and having washed its walls on the west side, becomes navigable, continuing its course southwards to the sea. The mountains which run parallel with the Orontes from the neighbourhood of Damascus, and between it and the sea, divide, not far from Antioch, into several ranges, two of which extend to that city on the south. That on the east gradually declines, and its declivities are covered with vineyards and gardens; that on the west is steep and abrupt, and between them is an exceedingly deep, rugged ravine, through which a rapid mountain-stream runs into the town, and having through subterraneous pipes supplied all the houses and gardens of the place with water, rushes on to join the majestic and placid Orontes. On the extremity of the western rocky height, commanding a splendid view of the whole region to the lake Ofrinus, stands connected with the walls of Antioch the strong and nearly inaccessible castle, one perilous pathway alone running down into the narrow glen beneath. The town is surrounded by double walls of cut stone, of such thickness that a chariot with four horses could with ease run along them; their strength is augmented by four hundred and fifty towers built at con-



venient distances on their circuit. The south side of the town, being close to the mountain and the castle, has no gate; on the west, facing the Orontes, was the gate of St. George; on the north, at the spot where that river comes close to the town, the Bridge-gate; north-east, what was afterwards named from Duke Godfrey, the Duke's gate, and the Dog's Gate; and on the east, the Gate of St. Paul.\* A little brook rises in the neighbourhood of this last gate, and directs its course toward the Dog Gate, making all that part of the ground marshy.

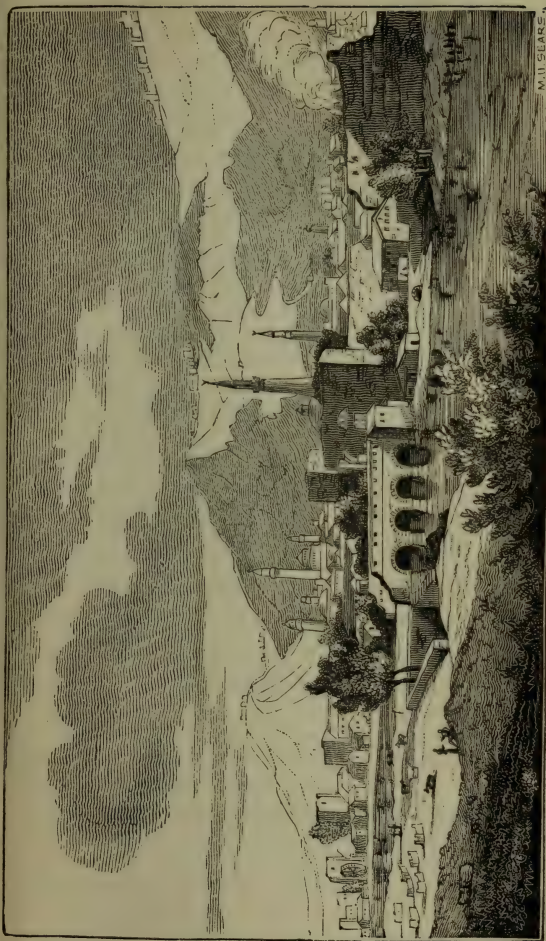
#### STATE OF ANTIOCH.

THE city of Antioch had been wrested from the power of the Greeks in the time of Sultan Malek Shâh. Its present governor was Baghi Seyân,† a near relative of the Seljukian princes. In the contests between Rodvan and Dekak, the sons of Tûtûsh, after the death of their father, he sided sometimes with the one, sometimes with the other. He was just returned from aiding Rodvan in an expedition against Emesa and Shaizar (Cæsarea), when intelligence reached him of the capture of Nicæa, and the defeat of Kilij Arslân. He immediately wrote, and sent his sons, to the different Seljukian princes, calling on them to unite and avert the common danger; but private enmity prevailed too strongly among them to suffer them to attend to his representations, and he was left to his own unaided efforts for the defence of Antioch.

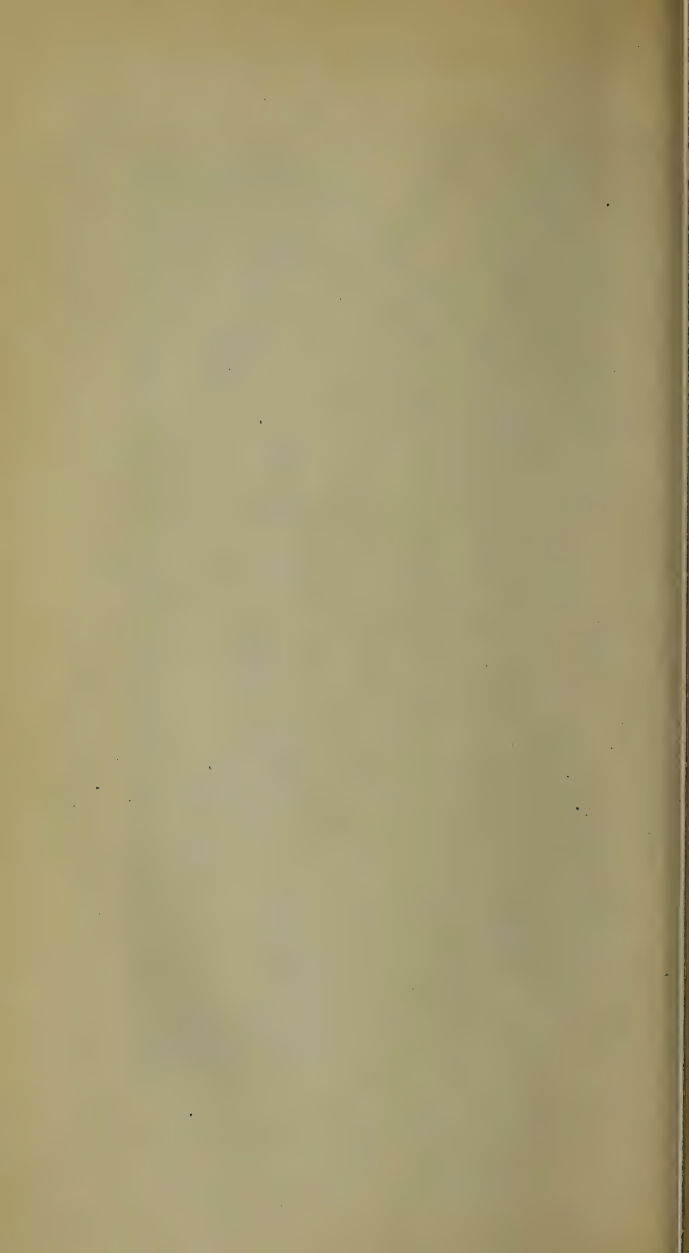
Baghi Seyân, thus left to himself, began to make preparations for a vigorous defence. He was naturally of a rigid character, and he let no feelings of justice or humanity impede him in his course. Hitherto the Christians of Antioch had been suffered by their Turkish masters to pursue their occupations undisturbed, being only excluded from public offices and from military service; but now, dreading their correspondence with the enemy, he expelled them all from the town, retained their wives and property as security for their peaceful conduct. He collected provisions and military stores, and repaired

\* These names were given to the gates by the Franks, when they were in possession of Antioch.

† Called *Cassianus* (Hassan?) by the historians; *Cassano* by the poet. *Jer. Del.* c. vi. st. 56.



View of Antioch.



and strengthened the fortifications. With the addition of those Turks of the neighbouring districts who had sought shelter in Antioch, the garrison amounted to from six to seven thousand horsemen, and between fifteen and twenty thousand foot-men.\*

#### THE CHRISTIANS BEFORE ANTIOCH.

**E**RE the chiefs led their troops beneath the walls of the strong city of Antioch, they held a solemn council to deliberate on the mode in which they should proceed.

In this council the opinions were twofold. Some maintained that they should not venture to sit down before so strong a town at that season of the year, just as the winter was about to commence. They advised that the army should take up its quarters for the winter in the fruitful districts about them, and in the spring, when they would be aided by the troops of the Greek emperor, and by bodies of pilgrims from the West, commence the work with vigour.

On the other side it was argued that the army had, with the aid of God, already overcome unspeakable difficulties, that the continuance of such grace was only to be obtained by confidence, and by unceasing activity; while delay would only give time for Antioch to be more strongly secured, and for the enemies to come to its relief from all sides.

This last opinion, which was strongly supported by the count of Toulouse, prevailed in the council of the princes, and on the 21st of October the Christian army, with loud shouts and the sound of trumpets, appeared before the walls of Antioch. A deep silence, on the contrary, reigned within the town, and it seemed to the pilgrims as if it were devoid of inhabitants.

As the south side of the town, defended by the mountain and the castle, offered no position for a camp, and the Orontes rendered the gate of St. George and the Bridge-gate inaccessible to them, the pilgrims stretched

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\* Baghi Seyân is the original of Tasso's Aladine, king of Jerusalem. See *Jerusalem Delivered*, c. i. st. 83-90.

We may here observe that a great number of the circumstances in the poet's siege of Jerusalem really occurred at the siege of Antioch. We will point out some of them as we proceed.



their lines before the remainder of the walls of the city. Boemond, with his Normans and the Christian inhabitants of Antioch who had joined him, encamped before the gate of St. Paul; next to his, and extending thence to the Dog-gate, was the camp of Robert of Flanders, Robert of Normandy, Stephen of Blois, and Hugh the Great, with their Normans, Franks, and Bretons; before the Dog-gate lay the count of Toulouse and the bishop of Puy, with Gascons, Provençals, and Burgundians; finally before the Duke's-gate were the duke of Lorraine, his brother Eustace, the counts of Toul, Montaigu, and others, at the head of the Lorrainers, Frisians, Swabians, Franconians, and Bavarians.

Hitherto the Christian army had been rather a military confederation than one united body. Each chief and his troops were independent of the others; for though Godfrey, or Raymond, or any other of the superior princes, might exercise an apparently supreme command, it was merely a tacit acknowledgment of his authority. The evil of divided commands having been felt, it was now resolved that the great princes should possess the supreme authority alternately. Nothing, however, was to be done without the consent of the princes, who formed a council, and all costly undertakings were to be defrayed by the contributions of all.

During the first fifteen days of the siege, the Turks remained inactive within their walls, viewing with amazement, through the gratings of their gates, the arms, the dress, and the manners of the Franks. The crusaders in the meantime spread themselves over the country in search of plunder; and fruits and corn of every kind, and droves of cattle, were brought each day in such abundance into the camp, that the most fastidious delicacy was exhibited in the consumption. The pilgrims would eat none but the ripest and choicest fruits; the thighs and shoulders alone of the oxen would please their palate, most of them disdaining even the breast; all the other parts were thrown away. Wines of every kind were held as cheap as water; the supply of months was wasted in a few days. (All the fine ornamental timber and fruit-trees of the lovely gardens around Antioch were cut down to form sheds for cattle and huts for men, and the whole

of the country was speedily converted into a desert. Meanwhile every species of excess was indulged in: women of loose life were everywhere to be seen in the Christian camp, which presented scenes of riot and profligacy equal to any that the neighbouring grove of Daphne had witnessed in the days of heathenism. No apprehensions were entertained of the Turks; the surrender of the town was hourly expected.

The inactivity of the Turks, however, did not continue. It was now the practice of the pilgrims to cross the Orontes from Duke Godfrey's camp, and go to a distance in search of forage for the horses. One day, as they were thus engaged, they were fallen on by the Turks, and several of them were slain before they could swim back over the river. To prevent the recurrence of such a mishap, it was resolved in the council to build a bridge of boats over the Orontes at that place, for the more easy passage of the foragers, and to enable their friends to come to their aid when they were attacked. Boats were collected from the river and the lake, then bound together with ropes, and planks laid on them, covered with sods of earth, and all made fast.

Daily sallies of the besieged disquieting the Christian camp before the Dog-gate, it was resolved to attempt the destruction of the stone bridge, by which alone the enemy could pass, as the water which ran from the spring near St. Paul's gate rendered all the rest of the ground before the town soft and boggy. The strength of the bridge, however, and the obstinate resistance of the garrison, made all their efforts vain. They then constructed and moved up to the bridge a strong pent-house, resembling a tower, under which they placed a party of armed men who should prevent the sallies of the besieged. But the Turks now directed all their efforts against this work, and having forced the crusaders to retire a little way from the bridge, they sallied forth, set it on fire, and returned in triumph to the town.\*

The Christians, having re-established their artillery† before the bridge, expected to be able by means of it to

\* This may have been in Tasso's mind when he conceived the sally of Clorinda and Argantes to burn the towers of the Christians. *Jer. Del. c. xii.*

† That is, *mangonels*, and other machines for casting stones and darts.

keep the enemy confined. As long as it was in action, the Turks did not stir; but the moment the workmen ceased, they sallied forth as before. At length the pilgrims, seeing there was no other remedy, resolved to block up the bridge with masses of rock, and render it useless. This being done, the annoyance ceased in this quarter; but now the besieged began to sally forth at St. George's gate, and come and attack the pilgrims at the bridge of boats. One day a party of three hundred were at this place fallen on by the Turks, and many of them slain before aid could come to them from Duke Godfrey's camp. The Turks were driven back to the city, but here they were reinforced, and they again chased the pilgrims, many of whom, while flying from their swords, were precipitated from the bridge of boats into the river, and saved their lives with difficulty.

#### FAMINE IN THE CAMP.

WHILE the time and vigour of the pilgrims were wasted in these indecisive encounters, want began to display itself in their camp. Toward Christmas the scarcity which prevailed equalled the former superfluity. Parties sent out in quest of supplies returned empty-handed, or were cut to pieces by the Turks; only small quantities of provisions were brought in by the Armenian and Syrian Christians, and the passage to the harbour of St. Simeon, at the mouth of the Orontes, whither the vessels of the Genoese and Pisans resorted with provisions, was perilous. The rich alone could purchase, the poor lived on the vilest substances, such as pieces of leather and the bark of trees. So many died, that space could hardly be found to bury them; and of seventy thousand horses, there were not more than two thousand remaining alive. The tents were rendered useless by the torrents of rain that fell, and all was misery and desolation.

While the pilgrims were in this deplorable state, they received intelligence of the melancholy fate of Sweno, the prince of Denmark. This gallant youth had set forth at the head of fifteen hundred pilgrims to join the army of the cross. He was accompanied by Florida, daughter of the duke of Burgundy, and widow of the prince of

Philippi, the gift of whose hand was to reward his valour, when the Christians should have conquered the holy city. But the holy city neither of them was fated to behold. They pitched their tents one evening in a wood by a lake, named Fimininis, in Lesser Asia; in the night they were suddenly fallen upon by a party of Turks, and after a gallant resistance all were slain.\*

Numbers now began to quit the camp; some retired to Cilicia, some to Baldwin at Edessa; even princes and knights stained their fame by deserting their brethren. Robert of Normandy went to Laodicea, and was with difficulty induced to return. Tactitius, the Greek, having first vainly advised to give up the siege for the winter, set out under pretence of going to Constantinople for supplies, and returned no more to the camp.† But what gave most scandal was the flight of the Hermit, the author of the whole expedition! As we have already observed, his character, though enthusiastic, was deficient in firmness, hence he exercised little or no influence in the Christian camp;‡ and now, seeing the lamentable state to which the pilgrims were reduced, he probably deemed that ultimate success was hopeless. In the night he fled away, in company with William the Carpenter; but both were taken in their flight by Tancred, and brought back to the camp, where they were obliged, after undergoing the reproaches of Boemond, and the contempt of those who persevered, to swear to be steady to their vows. The Hermit got off with hard language; the knight was obliged, as a penance, to pass an entire night in the open air before the tent of Boemond!

To crown the calamities of the Christian host, the duke of Lorraine, their hope and stay, now fell dangerously ill. In this state of perplexity a general council of the princes was held; and undismayed by danger, unbroken by want, their unanimous resolve was not to desist from the siege. It was determined that Boemond and the count of Flanders should advance into the interior of the country in

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\* Tasso has made a most beautiful episode of the death of Sweno. See *Jer. Del.* c. viii. It is rather strange that the poet should have omitted the character of Florida.

† See *Jer. Del.* c. xiii. st. 68, 69.

‡ What a different person is the Peter of history from the Peter of poetry! See the *Jerusalem*, passim.



search of provisions, and that, relying on the aid of God, they would remain till Antioch was won.

These chiefs accordingly set forth at the head of two thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot. As they were returning on the third day with a large booty which they had collected, they were attacked by the Turks. Boemond was obliged to yield to superior might, and leave behind what he had gathered; and the supply brought into the camp by the count of Flanders sufficed but for a few days.

The crusaders, who generally neglected second causes, saw the immediate agency of Heaven in everything that befell them. Their present sufferings they therefore regarded as the chastisement of their secret sins; and the shock of an earthquake, and the appearance of a northern light, tended to confirm them the more in this belief. The bishop of Puy, as papal legate, now enjoined a fast of three days, as a means of appeasing the Divine wrath; and great as were their sufferings from want, the pilgrims obeyed the injunction as a sacred duty; processions, solemn masses, and chanting of psalms, were performed throughout the camp; all games of hazard were prohibited, all women of loose life, and even the married women, were removed; and severe punishment was inflicted on transgressors.

One of the first examples made was that of a monk, for a breach of chastity. He was convicted by the ordeal of red-hot iron, and severely whipped, and then led naked round the camp, as a warning to others.

While the prudent legate was thus seeking to purify the morals and revive the spirit of the pilgrims, he was no less solicitous to let the Turks perceive that there was no intention of abandoning the siege. With this view he had all the corn-lands about the town ploughed up and sown, to show that the present distress had not made the warriors of Christendom negligent of the future.

#### PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.

THE duke of Lorraine was now fully recovered, and his appearance greatly contributed to raise the spirits of the army; the weather too began to grow mild, and supplies came in more abundantly. The camp presented a more cheerful aspect than it had done of late. Regular

information of all that took place was meantime conveyed to the garrison; for as great numbers of Syrians and Armenians now resorted to the camp, the Mohammedans who spoke the same language also came in disguise, and, passing for Oriental Christians, got access everywhere. The princes, though aware of this device of the enemy, did not know how to prevent it, as they had no means of distinguishing between friend and foe. At length Boe-  
mond hit upon the following strange expedient. One evening when there was a great number of these disguised Mussulmans in the camp, he had two Turkish prisoners put to death: he then ordered a large fire to be prepared, and their bodies to be put on spits and set before it to roast, and gave directions to those who were to perform the part of cooks, to tell any who should inquire the meaning of all this, that it was the intention of the princes thus to convert into food for themselves and their men, the bodies of all Turks or spies whom they should find in the camp. The news of what was going on in the quarters of the prince of Tarentum rapidly spread through the camp; those whose absence was desired quickly disappeared, and fame divulged all over the East, that the Christians not merely conquered, robbed, and slaughtered their foes, but actually converted their dead bodies into food!

About this time an embassy from the khaleefeh of Egypt, sent to congratulate the Franks on their successes against the common enemy, entered the Christian camp. The envoys were also charged to inform the Frank princes that victory had smiled on the banners of the Saracens likewise, and to propose an alliance between them and the Fatimite khaleefeh. The Egyptian ambassadors were received with the highest honours, and every effort was made to prove to them that the crusaders had lost neither their zeal nor their courage. The tents were all adorned, the soldiers appeared in their gayest array, the knights ran at the quintain, there were horse-races, and combats with spears, games of dice and chess, to entertain the strangers. After a stay of some days, the Egyptian deputies departed, accompanied by some knights who were to proceed to Cairo and ratify the treaty with the khaleefeh.

Intelligence was now brought into the camp that the Turkish chiefs were assembling an army at the castle of Harem for the relief of Antioch. A large body of the pilgrims immediately set forth to oppose them, and took their position in the plain between the Orontes and the lake, at a place where the interval is not more than a mile. At break of day (Feb. 10th, 1098) they heard the approach of the Turkish horse, twenty-five thousand in number: soon the usual shower of arrows fell, and did much injury to the Franks; but as the narrowness of the ground prevented the Turks from deriving advantage from their superior numbers, and they were obliged to engage hand to hand with the sword, they turned their backs before long and fled, leaving two thousand of their number slain; one thousand horses also became the prey of the Christians, who had previously counted but seven hundred in their camp. The warriors returned with the heads of the slain Turks hanging from their saddles. The Antiochenes, who had meantime made several un-availing sallies against the Christian camp, when they beheld the pilgrims returning after their victory, fondly deemed that their friends were coming to their relief, but two hundred heads which were shot into the town, showed them the futility of their hopes.

The Christians now built a castle on an eminence eastward of the camp of Boemond, to protect them on that side. They were secured by the morass, the river, and this castle, against the attacks of the enemy, who was equally secure against them; and there seemed no period set to the duration of the siege.

A Genoese fleet appeared soon after at the mouth of the Orontes, bringing provisions and a large body of pilgrims. As the pilgrims were proceeding inconsiderately from the camp to the port, and from the port to the camp, the princes deemed it advisable to send a body of troops, under the count of Toulouse and Boemond, to conduct the new-comers and the provisions safe to the camp. Raymond led the advance, Boemond the rear-guard. Suddenly a body of four thousand Antiochenes rushed from an ambush, and fell on them. The terror of the unarmed pilgrims was so great, that the gallant resistance offered by the princes and the knights stood

them in little stead, and three hundred, or, according to other accounts, one thousand of them, were slain as they fled away in search of safety. All the baggage and provisions fell into the hands of the enemy.

The fugitives brought tidings of this calamity to the camp, and Duke Godfrey instantly gave orders for the army to set forth, and wrest, if possible, by an unexpected attack, this victory from the foes. They met the fugitives on the bridge of boats. Boemond and Raymond turned about, and advanced afresh against the Turks, while Godfrey moved to the left with his forces, to occupy a hill close by the Bridge-gate, which commanded all the region round. Baghi Seyân, who from the walls beheld the danger of his people,\* sent forth reinforcements with all speed; but before they could arrive the Turks had reached the Bridge-gate in flight, and being there assailed by Duke Godfrey, they perished, partly by the sword, partly by the river into which they plunged. Had not night come on, the Christians would, in all likelihood, have taken the town that day.

In this action all the Christian chiefs behaved worthy of their fame, but the valour of the duke of Lorraine shone pre-eminent. Several of the foes had already sunk beneath the vigour of his arm, when a Turk of gigantic size, thirsting for vengeance, impelled his horse against him. The duke received his stroke on his shield, and then with a huge blow of his sword, struck him so forcibly in the middle of his body, that the upper part of it fell to the earth: the horse galloped away to the town, with the lower part still sitting in the saddle! The air resounded with the cries and lamentations of the old men, the women, and the children, who stood on the walls. Amongst the slain were twelve emirs and the son of the prince; and a large booty of horses, garments, and arms, rewarded the valour of the pilgrims.

The following days were spent by the Turks in interring their dead. The place which they employed for this purpose was near the Bridge-gate, and the pilgrims made their way to it, and disinterred the bodies for the sake of the gold, silver, and costly garments which were buried

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\* Thus in Tasso *Aladine* views the combat from the walls of Jerusalem.



with them. They counted fifteen hundred of the dead. Four horses, laden with heads, were sent down to the sea-coast to the Egyptian envoys, as proofs of the victory that had been gained.

It was now the month of March; provisions were plentiful in the Christian camp. Presents poured in from Baldwin and the Armenian princes. The pilgrims who had fled away in the season of distress, and were lurking in the woods and glens and caverns of the mountains, returned to the camp. The princes, hopeless of taking the town while it had a free communication with the country, resolved to erect some works near the Bridge-gate, to prevent any sallies of the enemy on that part. But all the princes, under one pretence or another, declined undertaking the building and maintaining of this fort. Count Raymond then came forward, and offered not merely to protect the workmen, but to defray all the costs out of his own funds. All the complaints which were wont to be heard of Raymond's want of liberality were now silent. The stones of the Turkish tombs were employed in the construction of this fort, in which the count of Toulouse placed five hundred of his men, and the gate of St. George alone remained open to the besieged. It was now determined to close up this last gate also, and the task of raising the necessary works was imposed upon Tancred. Count Raymond gave one hundred marks of silver, and four hundred were allotted from the common chest for this purpose. With the ruins of an old castle and of a fallen monastery, Tancred raised his fortification on an eminence before the gate, and the town was now completely shut in.

General engagements were not now to be apprehended, but their own imprudence at times exposed individual pilgrims to danger. Thus one day as a German count, named Adalbert, was playing at dice with a beautiful lady of noble birth, close to a little wood which ran up to the town, some Turks stole out, cut off the count's head, and carried away the lady into the town, where they put her to death, and shot her head and that of her lover into the Christian camp.

The next day a pilgrim, named Valo, having ventured too near the walls, was seized and cut to pieces in a most

Two arrows

inhuman manner. When his wife, Umberga, learned what had befallen him, she stiffened like a marble statue, and for a long time exhibited no signs of life. At length she burst out into the most violent lamentations, rolled herself on the ground in agony, and terrified the bystanders now by her contortions, as she had previously done by her immobility.

A pilgrim, named Rainald Porchitus, fell into the hands of the Turks. They placed him on the battlements, and ordered him to entreat his friends to ransom him, but he cried with a loud voice to the Christians, "Be steady and persevere, for all the chiefs of the enemy are fallen, and no one remains to lead them with vigour and understanding." These words having been translated by interpreters for the Turks, they menaced him with the severest punishments if he did not renounce his faith within an hour; but he despised their menaces, knelt down, and prayed to Heaven for support, and calmly received the fatal stroke.

Want now began to be felt in the town, while abundance prevailed in the camp of the besiegers. The spring was now advanced, and communication with the sea was open, which vessels could safely navigate at this season; the earth sent up many edible plants, and the Armenian Christians brought in abundant supplies of provisions. Baldwin also sent large presents to both the princes and the inferior sort of the pilgrims. Duke Godfrey received fifty thousand gold pieces, the revenue of Tellbasher and the country this side of the Euphrates. A large and splendid tent was also destined as a gift for him, but Pancratius intercepted it, and bestowed it on Boemond. When the duke learned what had been done, he insisted, with more warmth than was usual with him, on restitution being made. Boemond, on the other hand, was obstinate in his determination to keep the tent, but he was forced to yield to the unanimous voice of the princes.

#### CAPTURE OF ANTIOCH.

THERE was in Antioch a man named Pyrrhus, an Armenian by birth, who had embraced the Mohammedan faith. He had the charge of one of the most important towers on the west side of the town, and he was now filled with enmity against Baghi Seyân, who had lately treated

him with great severity, and obliged him to give up the stores of provision he had laid up for his own family, to be distributed amongst those who were in want. He began to reflect that if he put the Christians in possession of that tower, and consequently of the town, he should both gratify his vengeance and entitle himself to a large reward. On the other hand, should he fail in his project, the certain ruin of himself and his family was inevitable. He therefore deemed it the safer course to treat with but one of the Christian chiefs, as the danger of discovery would thus be less, while the prospect of reward would be greater. Accordingly he communicated with Boemond, offering to put the town into his exclusive possession.

Boemond, who had probably himself suggested this condition, hasted to lay the proposal before the princes, previously asking them if they were willing to pledge themselves that the town should belong to him who should by his valour and dexterity make himself master of it. But all maintained their right to a share in the place; and the count of Toulouse, who had little love for the Norman, and recollected his zeal in the matter of the homage at Constantinople, drily said, that by this establishment of exclusive property, they would be false to their engagements to the emperor, to whom they were bound, in return for his aid of men and money, to restore all their conquests, which had previously formed a part of the empire. Boemond, seeing them in this temper, went no further at that time, but still kept up his correspondence with Pyrrhus.

But soon tidings of the approach of a large Turkish army for the relief of Antioch reached the camp of the Christians. The Turkish princes were now aware that these were their common foes, and that it behoved all to unite and destroy them. Laying aside their petty disputes and enmities, Kerboga, prince of Mosul and Nisibis, Dekak, of Damascus, Janah-ed-Dowlah (*Asylum of the State*), of Emesa, and other princes and emirs, collected a formidable army, and the chief command being conferred on Kerboga, they laid siege to Edessa. After three weeks of fruitless efforts, they became aware that it was the grand army before Antioch which they should have attacked, as, if that was destroyed, the fall of Edessa must

inevitably follow. They resolved at once to march against it; but their advance was incredibly slow, for dissensions had again arisen among them, owing to the pride and arrogance of Kerboga, which those who regarded themselves as his equals were little inclined to submit to.

The vague intelligence of the approach of this mighty host caused terror and apprehension in the Christian camp. Stephen, count of Blois, was, however, the only one of the princes who gave a public proof of his fears; under the pretext of the state of his health requiring it, he left the camp, to which he never returned, and with four thousand of his men retired to Alexandretta, where he had ships got ready to carry him off in case of any calamity befalling the army. The princes, indignant at this conduct, now made a decree, that any one, high or low, who left the camp without permission, should be put to death; and to confirm themselves in their resolution to persevere, they bound themselves by oath to persist for fourteen years in the siege of Antioch.

Meantime envoys arrived from Kerboga, demanding why they, in a manner so unbecoming to pilgrims, wasted the country and slaughtered the inhabitants, offering to supply them with all necessaries if they performed their pilgrimage in a peaceful manner to Jerusalem, and menacing them with destruction if they persisted in their present course. The reply was, that the Christians who had gone thither peaceably had been insulted and ill-treated, and with the aid of God they would conquer Jerusalem, and all the countries to which they had an hereditary right.

The Moslems departed, and the princes prudently kept secret from the people, lest their courage should be depressed, everything that had occurred. They now engaged in anxious consultation respecting what was to be done, as the speedy arrival of Kerboga's formidable host was no longer a matter of uncertainty. Some were for leading the entire army to meet him; others for leaving a sufficient force in the camp, and with the remainder advancing to give him battle: but Boemond, taking aside the duke of Lorraine, the earl of Toulouse, Robert of Flanders, and Robert of Normandy, said to them,—

“Dear brethren, I see the anxiety you are in respecting



the approach of the army of the enemy, and how you are sometimes for this and sometimes for that course, and still miss the best and surest. For if we all march against the enemy, the Antiochenes will storm our camp, destroy our works, and have time to relieve all their wants; but if we leave a guard behind in the camp, and march with only a part against Kerboga, both will then be weak; and as with our undivided forces we are barely a match for the Antiochenes, we shall be overcome both in the field and in the camp. Our ruin is, then, inevitable in any case, unless we win the town before the arrival of Kerboga. But it is in my power to have the town the moment I please, by the understanding which I have with one of the inhabitants, who has charge of one of the strongest towers; but only on these conditions, that he shall have a large reward and immunities, and that the town shall be the exclusive property of me and my descendants. If, however, any one knows a better plan than this, I am willing to give up all claims."

The thoughts of the impending danger led the other chiefs to yield an immediate assent to the demands of Boemond; Count Raymond alone persisted in his refusal, but his opposition was now unheeded.

Meantime vague rumours and suspicions that treason was a-hatching somewhere, prevailed in the city. The wealthy Christians who had been detained as hostages, and who were galled and oppressed with tasks and exactions, were naturally supposed to be anxious to hasten the moment of its capture. Pyrrhus, too, fell under suspicion, and was summoned to justify himself before Baghi Seyân and his divan. He conducted himself with the utmost coolness and composure, readily answered all the questions that were put to him, and had even the hardihood to say that the treachery, if there was any, must be among those who had the charge of the gates and towers, who should therefore be changed, and assigned other posts. The Turkish councillors were satisfied and dismissed him, and as it was now near evening they deferred the execution of what he recommended till the following morning. That very night he had agreed to put the tower into the hands of Boemond.

To throw the Turks off their guard the far greater part

of the Christian army had, at the ninth hour of the day, marched away into the country; but secret directions were given to their leaders, to bring them back into the camp with nightfall. As they were moving off, Pyrrhus stood gazing at them from the battlements, and turning to his younger brother who was at his side, but who knew nothing of his secret plans, he said to him, "Oh, my dearest brother, how I pity these poor pilgrims of our own faith, who are there marching off so joyously; little do they know what danger is before them!" But the brother replied, "Silly is thy sorrow, and useless thy pity! May they all soon be destroyed by the Turks; for it is only since they came that our lot is become dreadful, and they never can compensate us for all the sufferings we have endured." Pyrrhus, finding such to be the sentiments of his own brother, deemed it prudent to say no more.

The night was half gone when Boemond sent a trusty person to the foot of the tower. The signals agreed upon between him and Pyrrhus were, the fall of one stone if there was danger, of several if all was safe. The envoy stood in expectation, but nothing fell. He saw a light in the tower, and perceived a movement, and men passing to and fro. He became uneasy and uncertain. Soon he heard a low whispering voice say, "Be still and say nothing till the inspector of the guards with his company and his torches has gone by." They now drew near, the envoy heard Pyrrhus applauded for his diligence, the lights vanished, and the words, "Now is the time," reached his ears. He sped away to the camp, and the princes and their followers were soon at the foot of the tower; a cord was let down in silence, to which they attached a rope-ladder; it was drawn up and made fast, still they heard not a word. They were filled with uneasiness, dreading some treachery, and hesitated to ascend. At length a gallant knight, named Fulcher of Chartres, boldly mounted the ladder, "like an eagle," says the old historian, "that encourages his young to fly, and hovers over them;" the count of Flanders, Boemond, and others, quickly followed his example. In one of the first chambers they entered, they found the brother of Pyrrhus asleep; he was their first victim—a return for his services

probably not anticipated by Pyrrhus, who himself also narrowly escaped death at their hands; for the ladder chancing to break, and another not being to be had, they again suspected treachery. The number who had mounted being too small to offer effectual resistance to the Turks, should they be alarmed, the uneasiness of Pyrrhus and the crusaders was extreme. At length those who were below burst open a small door to the left of the tower, which the darkness had hitherto concealed from their view. They rushed in and made themselves masters of ten towers, cutting all the guards to pieces; then hasted to the Bridge-gate, and opened it to the rest of the army. At break of day, the Antiochenes learned the cause of the noise they had heard during the night, and beheld the blood-red Christian banners waving on their walls. All resistance was in vain, fruitless every effort at escape or concealment; for the Syrian and Armenian Christians had now armed themselves, and joined the crusaders, to whom they pointed out every secret nook and recess, and led to the houses of the persons of greatest rank and wealth. Old and young, women and children, were mingled in promiscuous slaughter; no eye spared, no arm held back—ten thousand victims fell in that single day.

Shems-ed-dowlah\* (*Sun of the State*), the son of Baghi Seyân, took refuge in the citadel, with a body of the bravest of the garrison; his mother, his sister, and his two nephews fell into the hands of the Christians.† The aged prince himself had fled away when he learned that the Franks were in the town; he took the road to Aleppo, but with the approach of day he gave himself up to the bitterest repentance for having abandoned his family and his fellow-Moslems. He turned round, and as beneath the beams of the rising sun he beheld the city, which was

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\* The Sensadulus of the Latins.

† The readers of Tasso must be aware that the most interesting female character in his poem, the tender and gentle Erminia, is represented as being the daughter of the prince of Antioch. The original historians in general make no mention of such a person; but Orderic Vitalis, a contemporary, who gives a very romantic account of the liberation of Boemond from captivity, hereafter to be noticed, says that on that occasion the daughter of the emir of Antioch, who was a captive in the hands of the Christians, also obtained her liberty. She quitted the camp of the faithful with tears, and on being asked the reason said, that she wept because she should get no more of the excellent pork to eat; for, as the historian informs his readers, the Saracens do not eat pork, though they esteem the flesh of the dog and the wolf to be great delicacies. This pork-loving princess was the original of the poet's Erminia! But what cannot genius effect?

once his own, now in the hands of the enemy, he fell from his horse in a swoon. His companions, having vainly essayed to recover him, left him to his fate and departed. When he came to his senses, he rambled about the mountains in despair, till some Syrian wood-cutters met him. They recognized him, and suspected what had happened. He sought in vain to move them to pity; they slew him, and cutting off his head, with his venerable beard which reached to his waist, brought it, and his valuable sword and belt, with shouts of triumph, to the camp of the Franks.

Thus was Antioch captured, on the night of the 3rd of June, 1098, after a gallant resistance of more than seven months, against a force far superior to that of the garrison. But for the treachery of Pyrrhus, it is probable it would never have fallen into the possession of the crusaders; and had their host perished before its walls, and all the projects for the conquest of the Holy Land been there shattered, what a different direction might not the history of the world have taken! The Eastern empire might have been conquered by the Seljukian, instead of the Ottoman, Turks, and the sway of barbarism have extended deep into the heart of Europe. But it is idle to speculate on what was not to be.

#### ARRIVAL OF KERBOGA.

A VERY small supply of provisions, and about five hundred half-starved horses were found in the town. The crusaders at first, as was natural in their case, gave themselves up to indulgence; and the warriors of the Cross are charged by their pious historians with seeking the embraces of the strange women. But a sense of their danger soon roused them from their dreams of luxury and pleasure. The citadel, they knew, was still occupied by the Turks; the host of Kerboga must appear before long, and their stock of provisions must very soon be exhausted. The princes resolved to lose no time in attacking the citadel; they led the army against it, but after a brisk assault, in which Boemond received a wound, they found that mere valour would not suffice to take it, and were obliged to place their hopes in the aid of famine. Some hasty works were thrown up to prevent the sallies of the



garrison. Light troops were now sent in all directions to endeavour to collect provisions, but the country was completely exhausted by the continued supply of so large an army, and the quantities which could be brought by sea were comparatively inconsiderable, so that there was little prospect of their being able to fill their magazines. Duke Godfrey had the gate of St. Paul, which was on the east side of the city, secured against any sudden attack of the Turks, and he placed a strong garrison in the castle which Boemond had erected before the Dog-gate.

The second day after the capture of the town was now nearly past, when the watchmen on the towers descried the approach of thirty Turkish horsemen, who seemed to be engaged in surveying the strength and situation of the town and camp. Roger de Barneville, incensed at their audacity, hastily issued forth at the head of fifteen knights to punish them. The Turks turned their horses' heads and fled; the Christians heedlessly pursued, till they came to an ambush of three hundred horsemen; the former fugitives now faced about and discharged their arrows, one of which bore death to the Christian leader, whose head they cut off, and carried away with them in triumph. The body of Roger was conveyed by the mourning pilgrims to the city, and buried in the church of St. Peter. His death was regarded as a common misfortune; for his open, affable manners, and his dexterity in business, made him equally acceptable to Christians and Turks, and he was frequently engaged with advantage in negotiations between them.\*

Kerboga had meantime stormed the bridge over the Orontes, and cut to pieces those who guarded it. At dawn on the following morning, the watchmen on the towers of Antioch heard the indistinct sound of the approach of an army; soon the glitter of arms flashed in the beams of the ascending sun, and they beheld the numerous divisions of a mighty host advancing towards the town.† Many at first vainly thought that it was the emperor Alexius, who was at length performing his pro-

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\* Tasso (*Jer. Del. c. i. st. 54*) enumerates Roger de Barneville among the leaders who marched against Jerusalem the following year.

† *Jer. Del. c. iii. st. 6.*

mise, and leading his troops to their aid ; but when they saw no signs of amity, and the Turkish host covered the plain, with their tents, far as the eye could reach, hope gave place to terror, and they deemed their destruction at hand.

Kerboga instantly required Shems-ed-dowlah to deliver up to him the citadel, as a proof of his good faith and upright intentions. This demand was of course complied with at once. The prince of Mosul then encamped his forces round Antioch from east to west, on the south side, in order to keep up his communication with the citadel ; and he commenced his operations by a vigorous attack on the works erected by Boemond eastward of the city. Duke Godfrey, at the head of a strong body of troops, sallied forth to the relief of the garrison, but was driven back with the loss of two hundred men ; and being joined by the guard, who had set fire to the works and abandoned them, he with some difficulty made his way back to the town. The Turks in the citadel meantime made frequent sallies into the town, and the crusaders found it necessary to dig a deep trench round the citadel, and erect stronger works than before against them. Notwithstanding these precautions, they were still harassed by sallies, in one of which Boemond, and several knights who were keeping guard, would have been overcome and made prisoners, but for the timely aid of Duke Godfrey and Robert of Normandy.

In a council held in the Turkish camp, it was decided that it was not sufficient to shut in the town on one side ; for as long as the Christians had a communication with the open country they could obtain supplies ; and that moreover the south side of the city was an inconvenient position for cavalry, and there was a want of fodder for the horses. Kerboga therefore, placing a sufficient garrison in the citadel, drew his camp round the town on the north side, and shut it totally in. His first attempt now was on the works at the Bridge-gate, which Robert of Flanders, and five hundred pilgrims, had the charge to defend. From morn till night of a summer's day this prince gallantly maintained his position, and drove back the Turks. But as they seemed resolved to assail it in the morning with a larger force, Robert, know-

ing that it was not tenable, destroyed it during the night, and retired with his men into the town.

#### DISTRESS IN ANTIOCH.

**H**UNGER now began once more to spread its ravages through the Christian army. The sea-coast was closely watched by the Turks, and only some very small supplies could be stolen in through their camp. The sick horses, asses, and camels, were first slaughtered for food, and the flesh of such of them as died a natural death was not only not disdained, but fetched a high price. All kinds of vermin, skins of beasts, leather, and the bark of trees, became articles of food. Many valiant and heretofore wealthy knights, such as the counts of Ascha, were glad to accept Godfrey's offer of food at his table; brave warriors might be seen, for very weakness, supporting their tottering steps with staves. All attention to morals and discipline was at an end; the guard too was kept less strictly, and one night thirty Turks got into a tower near that which Pyrrhus had betrayed; luckily a patrol happened to pass, and discovering them gave the alarm, and count Henry of Ascha hastened to the spot; the Turks, hopeless of escape, fought with desperation, and slew several of the Franks; others however came up, and the Turks were cut to pieces, or tumbled down from the walls.

Pilgrims of all ranks now began to despond, and to meditate an escape from the town. William of Grandemainil, Boemond's brother-in-law, and his brother Alberic, William the Carpenter, weak in heart as he was strong of arm, and several other knights, let themselves down by ropes from the walls in the night (whence they were afterwards called *rope-runners*), and made their way through all kinds of dangers to Alexandretta, where Stephen of Blois was still remaining inactive. Others, still worse, fearing to face the perils of escape, went over to the Turks, and renounced their faith. By their exaggerated pictures of the distress in the town, they augmented the confidence of the infidels.

By the advice of the prudent and unwearied archbishop of Puy, the princes now gave the chief command in the town to Boemond, and all swore obedience to him. The

Norman, who considered not merely his fame but his property to be at stake, exerted himself to the utmost: night or day he and his friends rested not; the walls, gates, and towers were committed to the pilgrims most to be relied on, and all possibility of flight was cut off from the timid.

Meantime Stephen of Blois and his companions had set sail for Cilicia, where they joined the emperor Alexius, who had advanced as far as Philomelium, with an army in which were forty thousand Franks, who had either remained behind on account of sickness or poverty, or had arrived too late to join the great army. The count of Blois and the other knights, to excuse themselves, drew a most deplorable picture of the state of the pilgrims at Antioch. Hugo, the brother of Boemond, who was with the emperor, fainted away when he heard his own brother-in-law bear witness to the truth of the statement; and when he came to himself he broke out into these remarkable words, which strongly prove what we have already stated of the feudal spirit of the crusades:—

“O thou triune God, if thou be almighty, why hast thou permitted this? Were they not thy champions and pilgrims? Did ever yet a king or an emperor suffer his men thus to perish, if he had the power to save them? Who now will fight for Thee, or place his reliance on Thee?” So strongly were these sentiments shared by most of the Latins, that for several days no ecclesiastic dared to celebrate divine service, no layman to call on the name of Christ!\*

Alexius, knowing that he was unable to cope with the forces of Kerboga, and being aware that Ismaïl the son of Kilij Arslân had collected a large army to attack him, and deeming moreover the state of the pilgrims to be quite hopeless, resolved to return. He laid the country waste between Iconium and Nicæa, directing the Christian inhabitants to collect their property and retire to Constantinople, before the arrival of the Turkish armies.

The intelligence of the retreat of the Greek emperor,

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\* We are sure that no truly pious mind can take any offence at our narrating this anecdote, which expresses too clearly the spirit of the age to permit of our passing it over in silence, without violating the promise which we made in our Introduction.



when it reached Antioch, extinguished every ray of hope in the minds of the greater part of the crusaders, and even some of the princes now meditated a nocturnal flight from that devoted town. The eloquence however of Godfrey, and of the bishop of Puy, whose courage and confidence in God never relaxed even for a single instant, inspired the chiefs with resolution still to persevere; but the vigour of mind of the inferior sort was so completely gone, that they hid themselves in the houses and in retired places, weeping and bewailing their unhappy fate, which had led them to perish so far from home. At length Boemond, to drive them out and make them come to their posts, adopted the desperate plan of setting fire to the town in different parts. Unfortunately a wind sprang up and spread the flames, and two thousand houses, several churches, and ancient buildings and monuments, with much valuable property, were consumed in the conflagration.

#### INVENTION\* OF THE HOLY LANCE.

WHILE the pilgrims were in this state of hopeless dejection, they were aroused to new energy by one of those devices which have often performed the work of miracles.

A priest of Provence, named Peter Bartholomæus, came to Count Raymond and the bishop of Puy, and spoke to them to the following effect. At the time of the earthquake, which had taken place during the siege, he was sitting in his tent, filled with terror, and only able to say, "God help! God help!" when suddenly there appeared unto him two men in shining raiment. The elder had a long brown beard and piercing black eyes; the younger was of a more slender form and of a beautiful countenance. The former, telling him that he was St. Andrew, took him, in his shirt as he was, and transported him through the air to the church of St. Peter in Antioch, at that time a mosk, and set him by the pillar which is on the south side of the steps going up to the altar. There were but two lamps burning in the large church, and yet the light there equalled that of the sun at noonday. The apostle bade him remain in silence where he was, and his companion

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\* That is, the *finding*, the Latin *inventio*.

also remained standing afar on the steps of the altar. The apostle then went away, and after a time he came up from the ground, with a lance in his hand, and said, "See, with this lance was opened that side out of which has flowed the salvation of the world. Give heed to where I bury it, that after the taking of Antioch thou mayest be able to point out the place to the count of Toulouse. Twelve men must dig till they find it. Now tell the bishop of Puy not to cease from admonition and prayer, for the Lord is with you all." So saying, he brought him back to his tent, over the walls of the city. But he had not courage to go to the bishop and tell him what had befallen. Some days after, he went out of the camp in search of food, and as he was at Roya, the apostle and his companion again appeared to him on the first day of the great fast, at the hour of the first cock-crow; and the chamber he was in was filled with light. The apostle said, "Peter, sleepest thou?" and he answered, "No, my Lord, I do not." "Hast thou done what I commanded thee?" said the apostle. "I was afraid," replied he, "for I am poor, and of no account, and no one will believe what I say." Then said the apostle, "Knowest thou not that the poor and the mean gain the kingdom of heaven, and hath not the Lord chosen you for the redemption of his holy place? Lo! the saints themselves might leave heaven, and partake of your enterprise. Go hence, and do as I have desired thee." Still he hesitated to tell what he had seen, and he went to Mamistra, and embarked for Cyprus, but a storm drove him back, and he then fell sick. After Antioch was taken, the two men in shining raiment came to him again, and the apostle said, "Peter, Peter, thou hast not yet made known what was committed to thee!" But he answered, "Oh, my lord, choose some one who is richer, is worthier, is nobler than I, for I am unworthy of such grace." "He is worthy whom God chooseth," said the saint; "do what is commanded thee, that the sickness may depart from thee." The countenance of the apostle was stern, that of his companion mild, and as it were irradiated with light from heaven. His looks gave Peter courage, and he said, "Who is thy companion who hath not yet spoken? love draws me to him with a yearning that removes all doubt from my mind, and fills my soul with confidence and heavenly

peace." "Thou mayest draw near and kiss his feet," said the saint. Peter drew near, and knelt down, and then he beheld bloody marks on his feet, and he fell on his face and cried, "My Lord and my God!" The Saviour spread his hands over him and vanished. He now was come to tell what he was commanded by Heaven to reveal.

The strong-minded bishop of Puy treated this narrative of the priest with perfect contempt, as an impudent falsehood; but Count Raymond, who was either a party to the cheat, or saw the use that might be made of it, or really believed the story, paid more attention to the marvellous narration. He took Peter, and committed him to the charge of his chaplain Raymond, who has narrated the tale in his history.

A few days after, the count himself, with twelve men, entered the church of St. Peter to seek for the fatal lance. They dug from morning till evening in the designated spot without success. At length when the count was gone to his post, and those who were labouring were quite fatigued with their toil, Peter jumped barefoot, with nothing on him but his shirt, into the hole they had made, and prayed to God to bring to light the lance, for the strength and for the victory of his chosen people. Ere long the head of the wondrous weapon was raised from the pit, and Raymond, the count's chaplain, the historian of the discovery, was the first to press the sacred relic to his lips. The lance was wrapped in purple and shown to the people, and the joy which the sight of it caused is not to be described. The Syrians and Armenians sang loud *Kyrie-eleisons*, praising the happiness of the Franks, to whom God had shown such mercy. The apostle appeared once more, and directed that the lance should be committed to the custody of Count Raymond, who had persevered in piety; and that the day on which it was found (June 14) should be kept as a festival by all Christians, in a manner which the apostle described.

Peter's good fortune soon brought other visions to light. A priest, named Stephen, now averred that the Saviour had appeared to him also in the church of the Holy Virgin, and directed him to tell Bishop Ademar that He had deserted His people because they had deserted Him; but that if they turned to Him, He would, within five days,

have pity on them, and they should advance against the Turks, crying, "The enemies are gathered together, and extol their might; O Lord, break their strength and scatter them, for none fighteth for us but only Thou our Lord and our God." The Virgin then appeared and said to her Son, that this was the people for whom she had so often entreated Him. The truth of this vision Stephen offered to prove by the ordeal of fire, or even by flinging himself from a lofty tower.

A bright star was also observed one night over the city, which directed its course over the walls, and then dividing into three parts fell on the Turkish camp. All these visions and appearances raised the courage of the people to a great height, and they now were eager to be led against the foe.

#### DEFEAT OF KERBOGA.

THE princes, ere they led the pilgrims to action, resolved to try the effect of a negotiation. Peter the Hermit was despatched with a knight named Herluin, who knew something of the Turkish language. Herluin would hardly comply with the usages of Oriental etiquette, and he delivered, in an insulting tone, a message of such a nature, that it is difficult to see what motive the princes could have in sending it, unless it were meant as a defiance. He required the Turkish prince to give up all claim to the city and its territory, and allow the pilgrims unmolested to pursue their way to Jerusalem, or to let the matter be decided by two champions chosen on either side, or by an engagement of the two armies. Above all, he called on him in the name of the princes to receive the law of Christ, and free himself by baptism from sin and error. Kerboga replied, that he despised their superstition, and laughed at their claims to the possession of the city. It was not for them, he said, to prescribe to him the mode of fighting, but they must do as he pleased. The grown persons among them he declared he would send to the Sultan Barkeioruk; all the rest he would cut down like useless trees. If, however, they would embrace the law of Mohammed, they should not only be spared, but get more lands and wealth than they could ever expect to win by the sword.

The envoys returned to the town, and in the midst of



the people, who assembled to hear the result of their embassy, the Hermit with his wonted solemnity was commencing an elaborate speech on the wealth, the power, and the haughty threats of the Turkish chief, when Godfrey drew him aside, and commanded him, lest the courage of the people should sink, only to say that war was inevitable. Orders were given to prepare for battle on the third day. All was now alacrity in the town: in the confidence of victory inspired by the holy lance all past sufferings were forgotten, provisions were served out in abundance, as there was soon to be plenty; swords and lances were ground, harness repaired, and each provided against the worst, by confessing his sins to his priest.

The night of the second day the princes met in council for the last time, to make the necessary arrangements, and the people to receive their orders. Before sunrise all proceeded in silence to the churches, confessed their sins, and received the body of Christ; Bishop Ademar then addressed them thus:—"Ye have received the body of Christ, confessed your sins, and promised amendment; ye have, in remembrance of the words, 'By this shall men know that ye are my disciples, if ye love one another,' laid aside all strife, and all former enmity. The Lord is with those who keep this love; He gives the victory to all those who offer themselves up for Him; He will destroy all those who by cowardice seek to save their lives." Every bosom now was filled with zeal, and with that confidence which only reliance on a higher power can bestow, and which sets at nought all earthly toils and dangers.

The dawn was just commencing to streak the eastern skies on the morning of the 28th of June, when the Christian army, in six divisions, marched by the Bridge-gate out of Antioch. Hugh the Great and the count of Flanders led the first division, the duke of Lorraine the second, Robert of Normandy appeared at the head of a third, the bishop of Puy conducted a fourth, Tancred had charge of the fifth, the sixth and largest division was led by Boemond; it formed the reserve, and was to give aid where aid was required: Count Raymond,\* who was still suffering

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\* So in the poet's battle of Ascalon, which is closely imitated from this, Raymond remains in Jerusalem, while the other chiefs go forth to battle. *Jer. Del.*  
c. xx. st. 6.

from sickness, had the command of those who were left in the town to watch the garrison of the citadel.

The pilgrims were exhausted by fatigues and privations; they had but three hundred horsemen fully equipped, even such men as the duke of Lorraine and the earl of Flanders having been obliged to borrow horses for the occasion from the count of Toulouse; and yet such was their full reliance on the aid of Heaven, that they reckoned with entire confidence on vanquishing the numerous Turkish host, whose spirits were high, whose forces were unimpaired. Orders even were issued that none should plunder till the rout of the enemy was complete! The clergy stood on the walls, waving crosses, and blessing the warriors as they moved to battle; others preceded the host in white stoles, singing the psalm, "*Let God arise and let his enemies be scattered!*" and the whole army replied in chorus, "*God wills it!*" A copious refreshing dew which fell was regarded as a sure pledge of the favour of Heaven.

The Turks in the citadel, when they beheld the Christian army in motion, hung out, as had been agreed on, a large black flag, and sounded their trumpets, to give the alarm to the army of Kerboga. But this chief, who was playing at chess, remained unmoved, contenting himself with sending forward two thousand horsemen to the Bridge-gate, to prevent the advance of the Christians. These were however already at the bridge, and had put their best bowmen in advance, who received the Turks with a flight of arrows. A knight, named Albert of Riburgsberg, then gallantly dashed in amongst them; the pilgrim warriors pressed on, and the infidels took to flight. His emirs now urged Kerboga to attack the Christians at once, before they were all out of the town, but he proudly replied, "*Let them all come out that none may escape our sword.*" He then sent Socman, the son of Orthok, the former owner of Jerusalem, with a large body of troops through the hills to get to the west of the Christians, and cut off their escape to the sea.

The two armies now slowly advanced against each other; the crusaders had spread themselves over the whole plain, that no troops might get into their rear to cut them off from the town. Just as the fight was commencing, some of the pilgrims saw, or thought they saw, three knights in

glittering armour and white raiment descend the hills followed by a numerous troop, and come and range themselves on their side. Ademar cried aloud that they were the three martyrs, St. George, St. Maurice, and St. Demetrius, come to their aid from heaven.\* The three first divisions charged, the others stayed not behind, the fight became general over the plain, feeble was the resistance of those emirs who envied Kerboga the glory of a victory, they turned and fled: the Christian arms were now triumphant on the plain, when the gallant Socman led his troops to the charge against the division of Boemonde. A thick shower of arrows announced their approach, then with sword and mace they engaged the crusaders hand to hand. Gallantly did the pilgrims receive their foes, nobly did they bear up against their numbers and their impetuosity; but now came down Rodvan of Aleppo, Karinthe of Harran, Togtegin of Damascus, and a flood of horsemen to overwhelm the soldiers of the Cross. Hugh the Great dashed forward and ran his lance through a Turkish horseman who was cheering on his comrades to the charge; but a Turkish arrow pierced the standard-bearer of the Christians, and when the banner was seen to fall, the foes came on with redoubled vigour. William of Blois sprang forward, raised the banner from the ground, and waving it cheered the Christians to the fight. Now came Godfrey and Tancred to the aid at the head of their victorious squadrons; and Socman, seeing that success was hopeless, retired, setting fire to the dry grass that its smoke might impede pursuit.

Meantime the main army of the Turks had retired through a narrow valley, and was drawn up on the hills with a brook in front. Though it might appear dangerous

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\* On occasions like this, the reader will do well to recollect the naïf language of Bernal Dias de Castillo, one of the original narrators of the conquest of Mexico, on a similar occasion.

"I acknowledge," says he, "that all our exploits and victories are owing to our Lord Jesus Christ, and that in this battle there was such a number of Indians to every one of us, that if each had thrown a handful of earth they might have buried us, if by the great mercy of God we had not been protected. It may be that the person whom Gomera mentions, as having appeared on a mottled grey horse, was the glorious apostle, Señor San Jago, or Senor San Pedro, and that I, as being a sinner, was not worthy to see him. This I know, that I saw Francisco de Morlo on such a horse, but as an unworthy transgressor, did not deserve to see any of the holy apostles. It may have been the will of God that it was so, as Gomera relates, but until I read his Chronicle I never heard among any of the conquerors that such a thing had happened."—ROBERTSON'S *History of America*, book v. note.

to attack such a position, Boemond, Tancred, and the duke of Lorraine, setting before them the bearer of the holy lance, crossed the brook and ascended the hill. The Turks made no long resistance; Kerboga, who had from an eminence viewed the battle, and issued his orders, now fled, and stopped not till he was over the Euphrates. Tancred pursued the fugitives as far as the strength of the men and horses allowed;\* the Syrians and Armenians waylaid the flying Turks in the woods and mountains and took revenge for their former injuries.

The Turkish camp became the prize of the victors, and the booty found in it was immense. Valuables of all kinds, horses, camels, mules, and sheep, and oxen, with every species of provision, were a joyful sight to the exhausted pilgrims. The splendid tents amazed their rude simplicity; above all, that of Kerboga filled them with astonishment. It was raised with towers, walls and bulwarks, like a town, and its chambers, to which long passages led, afforded accommodation for two thousand persons.

The Turkish governor of the citadel, when he saw the defeat of Kerboga's host, raised the banner of Count Raymond, but Boemond succeeded in having the surrender made to himself. The governor and part of the garrison, to the great joy of the pilgrims, submitted to baptism; the remainder were escorted to the Turkish frontiers, but happening, after the departure of their escort, to meet a party of Baldwin's troops and Armenians, they were fallen on by them and cut to pieces.

The bishop of Puy, in whose conduct there was no mixture of worldly motives, now set zealously about purifying the churches which the Turks had either converted to mosks, or desecrated to the meanest uses. They were supplied with all the requisite sacred utensils, crosses, and vestments out of the booty. The pictures and images were restored, and many a brave but illiterate warrior, as he gazed on them and heard them explained by some learned clerk, felt his zeal and his pious feelings augmented and exalted.†

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\* It is on this occasion that Tasso makes Tancred become enamoured of Clorinda. *Jer. Del. c. i., st. 46-48.*

† We are here stating a fact, by no means justifying a practice.



## PESTILENCE IN ANTIOCH.

THE dispute about the possession of Antioch was now renewed, and though St. Andrew again appeared to Peter, Count Raymond, who knew more of the apostle probably than others did, paid little attention to him when the revelations were against his interest. It was resolved to call on the emperor Alexius to perform his promise, and Hugh the Great, and Count Baldwin of Hennegau, were despatched to the imperial city. But Count Baldwin disappeared in an action with the Turks near Nicæa; and Hugh, who had found that he did not possess that influence and rank among the princes to which he thought his birth entitled him, went home to France. He was compared to the raven that was sent out of the ark, and did not return.

Antioch seemed destined to be to the pilgrims a type of their worldly career, the scene of their triumphs, the witness of their calamities and sufferings. Owing either to their want of moderation in the use of provisions after such long privations, or to the state of the atmosphere, perhaps corrupted by the unburied bodies of men and beasts, a dreadful pestilence now made its appearance. Thousands of all ranks became its victims, but no death caused such general grief and mourning as that of the bishop of Puy. The valour of the knight, and the meekness of the ecclesiastic, were in singular union in this extraordinary man; his piety and charity gained him the affection of the common people, whom his eloquence swayed to obedience or fired to action; the knights viewed with admiration his gallant bearing in the day of battle; the princes hearkened with attention to his wisdom in the council, and, humbled beneath his mental superiority, ceased from their petty strifes at his voice. A second Moses, we might almost say, he led his people to the borders of the promised land, which he was not permitted to enter. The pious prelate breathed his last on the first day of the month of August, 1098, and amidst the tears of the Christian host his body was solemnly interred in the church of St. Peter.\*

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\* Tasso makes Ademar to be present at the siege of Jerusalem.

The pilgrims, regarding Antioch as the theatre of all their calamities, were urgent with the princes to lead them away; renewed health and the grace of God, they thought, would attend the prosecution of their holy purpose. But, after serious consultation, the princes with one accord agreed, that if they were to proceed under the burning heat of a Syrian summer, all must perish, either by disease, or by the hands of the foes. When the sick, the weak, and the wounded had regained their strength, and the weather was become cool, and reinforcements were arrived from Europe, then they might with prudence set their faces toward the Holy City. Proclamation was accordingly made, that on the first day of the following November the march should commence for Jerusalem.

#### EXPEDITION OF DUKE GODFREY.

WHILE the pilgrims were thus detained in Antioch, the duke of Lorraine received an invitation to go to the aid of a Turkish chief.

The governor of the castle of Hazar having manifested disobedience to his superior lord, Rodvan of Aleppo, that prince led his troops against him. He was unable to resist alone, and he could not look to any Turkish prince for aid. In his perplexity one of his emirs came to him and said, "As the Christians of late were going toward Edessa, I made captive the wife of one of their knights, Fulcher of Bouillon, who was slain, and as she is a beautiful woman I placed her in my harem. She knows the great danger which menaces us, and advises to send and ask aid of the duke of Lorraine, the mightiest among the victorious Franks." The religious prejudices of the governor gave way before the sense of danger, and a Syrian Christian was employed to treat with the duke, who promised assistance, on condition of the Turk placing his son as a hostage in his hands.

As Rodvan was now with forty thousand men beleaguering Hazar, the Franks deemed that intelligence could not be conveyed to the besieged. But to their utter astonishment, who had never seen or heard of such a thing, the Turkish envoys produced some pigeons, and tying letters under their wings set them at liberty, assur-

ing the Franks that there was no doubt of their conveying the intelligence to the fortress.

Godfrey now addressed himself to Count Raymond and to Boemond, praying them to join their forces to his for the enterprise he had engaged in; but, offended that the Turk had not applied to them, they refused him their aid. Relying however on the three thousand men which his brother Baldwin was leading to join him, the duke set forward, but, learning the real strength of the Turkish army, he sent to Raymond and Boemond, reproaching them with their ungrateful treatment of him who had so often faced danger for their advantage, and assuring them that, if they did not come to his aid, he would regard their friendship as dissolved, and they might then count him among their foes.

These threats, the hope of fame and of booty, above all the urgency of the inferior pilgrims, impelled these princes to put their troops in motion, and on joining Godfrey their united forces numbered thirty thousand combatants. Rodvan retired at their approach, sending ten thousand of his men to fall on their rear; but the Turks were put to flight, and the governor of Hazar came forth at the head of three hundred horsemen fairly attired and armed, knelt down, and kissing the ground before Godfrey, swore fealty to him, and expressed his thanks to all for his deliverance. Godfrey presented him with the rich helm and corslet which his kinsman, Herebrand of Bouillon, had been wont to wear in battle.

Godfrey, who recollected his former malady in Rome, determined not to return to Antioch, where the pestilence still prevailed. He accompanied Baldwin on his way to Edessa, and received from him the possession of Tellbasher and Ravendan. Here he was joined by several of the pilgrims, who came from Antioch to escape disease, or attracted by the fame of the wealth and liberality of Baldwin. While here, the Armenian Christians made heavy complaints to him of the oppression exercised by Pancratius and his brother; and Godfrey, who had been hostile to these men ever since the time that they had intercepted the tent which was designed for him, attacked their castles, took them, and blinded twenty of their men whom he made prisoners—an act of cruelty

little consonant with the usual conduct of the duke of Lorraine.

While Godfrey was at Tellbasher, Boemond employed himself in the reduction of Cilicia, and Raymond took Albara, whose inhabitants he treated with great cruelty.

#### CAPTURE OF MARRA.

TO the great joy of the pilgrims, the first of November at length arrived, and all the princes came back to Antioch. Godfrey set out from Edessa with only twelve knights; on their way they were attacked by one hundred and fifty Turks, of whom they slew thirty, and took as many prisoners, who, to the great edification of the pilgrims, preceded the entry of the duke of Lorraine into Antioch, bearing the heads of their fallen comrades on lances.

The princes and chiefs now met in council in the church of St. Peter. The great question was, what should be done with Antioch; those who had got possessions in the vicinity were clamorous in favour of Boemond, while Raymond, on the other hand, veiled his ambition and his envy by asserting the rights of the Greek emperor; and he reminded them of their oaths so solemnly pledged on the cross, the crown of thorns, and so many other relics. Duke Godfrey and the count of Flanders were secretly for Boemond, but they feared the reproach of perjury. Words rose high, menaces were uttered, swords were grasped, and blood might have been shed, but the people, who were sincere in their desires to reach the object of their vows, and saw in these disputes only further delay, after silently murmuring for a time, began to manifest strong symptoms of impatience, and some of the bolder sort thus spoke out, "If the princes, out of fear, or for the sake of an oath which is not binding on us, delay the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, let us make some knight our commander, and with the aid of God set forth. Have we not been here an entire year? After the death of so many thousands, shall we stay here till more of us perish? Let those remain to their own destruction who think more of the emperor's gold, and the revenues of Antioch, than of the vow they made to their Lord and Saviour. If they attempt to hinder our de-



sign, let us pull down the walls of the city, and then the princes must return to that unity which brought us the aid of God and all the success we have had."

This language brought the princes to their senses, and on the 24th of November, Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Normandy, and soon after Boemond, set forth and led the pilgrims against Marra, a strong town south of Antioch. Confiding in the strength of their walls, the Moslems mocked at the crusaders, exposing to their view crosses which they had mutilated or defiled. As nothing could be effected without military engines, the pilgrims set about constructing them. Meantime famine, as usual, prevailed among them, and they might be seen in thousands roaming over the country gathering roots and plants, and scratching up the cornfields which had been reaped, for the sake of getting such grains as had been shed and lay in the ground. Numbers of them went back to Antioch. Renewed appearances of the apostles Peter and Andrew kept up the spirits of some of the Provençals, but Boemond and his Normans openly derided them.

On the 12th of December, the machines being completed, Marra was again attacked. A gallant defence was made by the townsmen, though, in consequence of the great influx of people from the country at the approach of the crusaders, they too were suffering from want of food, but they knew what they had to expect if the pilgrims conquered. By flinging down fire, stones, hot lime, and hives full of bees, they drove off the assailants. The combat lasted from morn till eve; at the close of the day the pilgrims were masters of some of the towers, but the approach of night prevented their pursuing their advantage. The princes recalled the combatants from the town, and directed them to keep watch before the gates that none might escape during the night. The poorer pilgrims, however, had not patience to wait till morning; they made their way into the lower town, and began to plunder. The richer inhabitants, in alarm, took shelter in the citadel, and sent and obtained the protection of Boemond; the poorer sort concealed themselves in subterraneous retreats, vainly hoping thus to escape the Christians. But when with morning the pilgrims

crowded into the town and found it empty, they speedily divined the cause, and with loud cries of "*God wills it*," they made fires before the retreats of their enemies, and by the smoke forced them to come out. No mercy was shown to any; even of those in the citadel a part were massacred; the remainder were dragged away in chains to Antioch.

It was the wish of Count Raymond that the town should be given to the bishop of Albara, but Boemond, who had possession of some of the towers, refused his consent, unless Raymond renounced all claim upon Antioch. On the count's refusal, Tancred, by the desire of his uncle, set out for Antioch with a party of his men in disguise, and with their arms concealed. They gained admission into the towers held by the Provençals, and then drawing their swords drove them out. Boemond had meantime left Marra, and was on his way to Antioch.

Little provision had been found in the town, and none was to be procured in the surrounding country; famine therefore soon spread its ravages among the pilgrims, and the unanimous testimony of the historians assures us, that to appease their hunger they dressed and ate the bodies of their slaughtered foes. Malady, the attendant of famine, also made its appearance, and the pilgrims were highly impatient to escape from these evils by advancing toward the Holy City. Raymond therefore summoned the princes to meet at Rugia to make arrangements for the march. They came, but the old dispute about Antioch arose once more. Raymond offered them large sums of money if they would one and all set out at once for Jerusalem, but they made various pretexts for delay. When the pilgrims at Marra learned the hesitation of the princes, they resolved that that town should furnish them with no pretext for delay, with no subject of dispute; and spite of the remonstrances of the bishop of Albara, and the efforts of their leaders, they pulled down the walls and towers of the town, the sick and aged even aiding in what they deemed so meritorious a work.

#### MARCH OF COUNT RAYMOND.

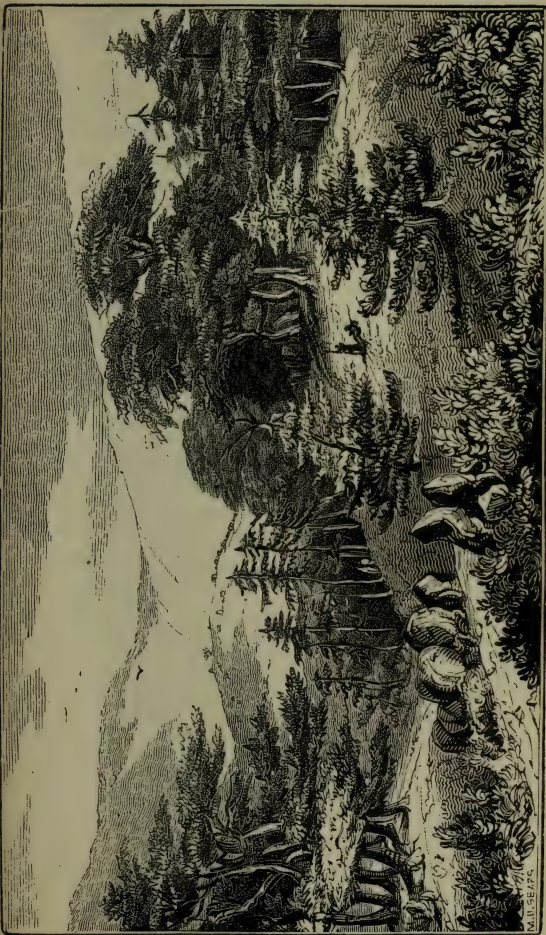
COUNT RAYMOND, on his return to Marra, was at first highly enraged at this proceeding, but he soon

affected to see in it the hand of God, and he promised the pilgrims to set forth with them after fourteen days. Meantime an irruption into the hostile territory procured a small supply of provisions.

On the 13th of January, 1099, Count Raymond, having set fire to the town of Marra, led his Provençals, ten thousand foot and three hundred and fifty horse, to Capharda. He marched himself barefoot at their head, to show his humility and his idea of the sanctity of his vow. The princes hastened to Capharda, but a consultation of four days led to nothing, and they went back to Antioch. The offers of Count Raymond were accepted by Robert of Normandy and by Tancred, and they entered into his service each with forty knights and a good number of footmen. Three Arabian horses and forty thousand *solidos*, or shillings, were the pay, we are told, promised to the gallant nephew of Boemond: that of the duke of Normandy was probably the same.

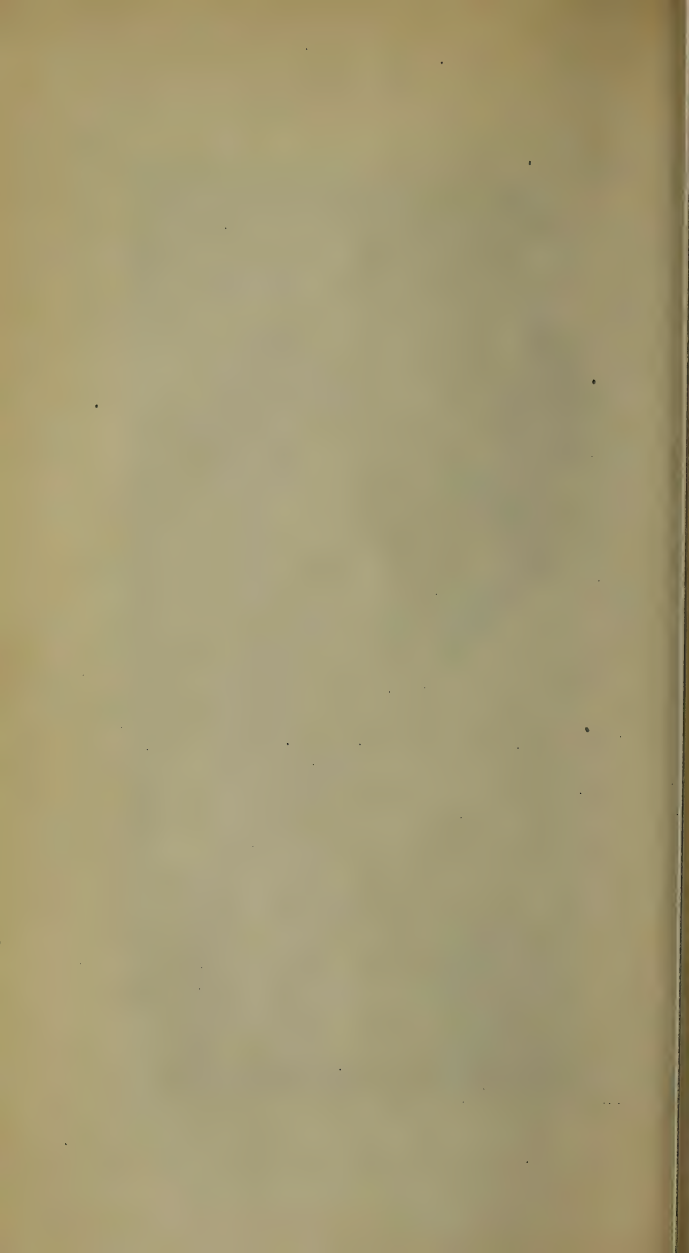
They proceeded along the Örontes, on the road to Damascus. The emirs of Shaizar (Cæsarea), Hama, and Hems, or Emesa, came forth to meet them with gifts, and supplied provisions and horses in abundance at a moderate rate. At their request the count placed his banner on their towns, it being the rule with the crusaders not to attack any place over which the banner of a Frank was waving. At Hems it was proposed to turn seawards, and lay siege to the town of Jibel (Gibellum); but Tancred having shown the difficulty and delay that might thence arise, it was agreed to march against Arca, a town also on the coast, but much more to the south, and near to Tripolis, which last place they hoped, by means of an understanding with the Christian portion of its inhabitants, to take, or at least to make tributary.

On their march to Arca, the pilgrims were greatly harassed by the Turks, till Count Raymond and several of his knights placed themselves one day in ambush, and gave them a sound castigation. At length the army came to a rich and fruitful valley, over which they began to spread themselves in search of provisions. While thus engaged, they were fallen on by the Moslems, and put to flight. The other pilgrims hastening to their aid, the foe took refuge in a strong castle on a rock, which was acces-



The Cedars of Lebanon.





sible only by a very steep and narrow footpath. Count Raymond resolved to attack it, and he had nearly reached the summit, when he perceived that most of his followers had left him, to go down and plunder in the valley beneath. He and the few knights who remained with him were exposed to great danger. Having called them all together after his descent, the count vehemently reproached them with this conduct, and they swore never again to quit any castle till they had taken it. The enemy, however, retired from the castle in the night, and when the pilgrims advanced next morning to the attack they found it empty.

The army lay fifteen days in this valley, and Count Raymond planted his banner on all the places round, to secure them against the other Latin princes. His envoys now returned from Tripolis, with marvellous accounts of the richness and fertility of the land, and bearing presents from the emir, to whom Raymond would grant peace only on condition of his becoming a Christian; for the count of Toulouse began now to think of following the example of Boemond, and appropriating to himself that wealthy land. He advanced in person to Arca, and sent a strong division under Tancred against Antaradus. Tancred reached that town in the evening; a slight skirmish took place with the inhabitants, who were easily driven back; and in the night the Normans caused so many watchfires to be kindled, that, supposing the number of Franks to be far greater than it really was, they left the town and all their property, and fled away before day. Tancred joined Raymond at Arca, and the siege of this castle, strong by nature and by art, was commenced. There lay here in chains two hundred pilgrims, who had been taken during the siege of Antioch. It was expected not to offer a long resistance, and its capture would, it was thought, bring the prince of Tripolis to terms. Finally, it was not safe to advance further into the country till joined by the remainder of the pilgrims.

#### MARCH OF THE OTHER PRINCES.

THE praises of the pious and heroic count of Toulouse were now on the lips of all the pilgrims at Antioch, and they loudly blamed the discord and want of zeal of the

other princes, who detained them from the object of their vows. Moved by their pressing instance, the princes gave, on the 1st of March, the word to set forwards. Boemond accompanied them to Laodicea, the only Syrian town in the hands of the Greeks, and then returned to the care and defence of Antioch. At Laodicea they found Guinimer and his Frisians in chains; for, pursuing their old freebooting courses, they had made an attack on the town, and had been captured. At the request of the duke of Lorraine he was set at liberty, and the duke gave him the command of the fleet, which was to attend the march of the crusaders.

Of the multitudes which had left Europe beneath the banners of the cross, exclusive of those with Raymond, Baldwin, and Boemond, there could now be mustered but twenty-five thousand men to encamp before the walls of Jibel, a town governed by a cadi for the khaleefeh of Egypt. What a falling off from the hosts which had beleaguered Nicæa and Antioch! Many doubtless had broken their vows, and returned home, or entered the service of the Greek emperor; many had fallen by the Turkish arrows, or languished in captivity; but it was famine, the plague, and sickness of every species, that had swept away the hundreds of thousands who came to die in Asia.

The cadi of Jibel offered in vain ten thousand pieces of gold to Godfrey, to lead the army away from before the town; as vainly did he look for aid from the Turks at Damascus. But the bishop of Albara now arrived in the camp, sent by Count Raymond, to say that he had learned that the sultan of Baghdad was approaching at the head of an immense army, to avenge the defeat of Kerboga, and praying them to lose no time in joining him, unless they wished the whole army to be destroyed in detail. The word was at once given to march, and rapidly passing by the Saracen towns on the coast, the pilgrims came in view of Arca. Here they were met by Tancred, between whom and count Raymond there was now strife and enmity, as the former delayed to pay the sum he had agreed to give for the services of the latter, and the high spirit of the Norman could ill submit to receive orders as a mercenary. Joining Duke Godfrey, he assured him that the whole story of the approach of the sultan was a fiction of Ray-

mond's, who had been bribed by the cadi of Jibel. The princes, in disgust at this conduct, formed a separate camp, and refused to take any share in the siege of Arca. Fearing lest they might come back, and lay siege again to his town, the cadi of Jibel sent large gifts to be distributed among the chiefs, and, as usual, each by representing himself as the person of the greatest importance in the army, sought to be the largest sharer in the presents of the Infidels.

#### CHARACTER OF THE PROVENÇALS.

THE discord was not now confined to the princes, it manifested itself among all ranks of pilgrims. The new-comers were jealous of the wealth which the Provençals, as they were the first to gather the harvest of gifts and contributions from the Infidels of these parts, had acquired. This ill feeling was augmented by the difference between the character of the Provençal, and that of the French or German pilgrim. The former was more polished in manners, and more sparing in diet, but less strong and persevering in action. He was also far more crafty, and continually imposed on his brother pilgrims in the various dealings which took place between them. Thus the Provençal would sell them asses' flesh, and assure them it was goat; or give them a piece of a dead dog, and maintain that it was good hare. In the time of distress or famine he would contrive to wound the horse of one of the other pilgrims mortally in some secret part, and when the animal fell, his owner would ascribe it to the action of evil spirits, and warn the Provençal not to touch the flesh; but he would laugh in his sleeve, and cry, "Better to die of this than of hunger," and feed heartily on what the other dreaded even to touch.

Count Raymond exerted all the powers of his eloquence, which were great, backed by large gifts, to the princes, especially to the duke of Lorraine, to remove the ill opinion which they had conceived of him. He positively denied having received any gifts from Jibel, and averred, as was probably the truth, that he had only too readily given credit to a report spread by the Saracens of the approach of a Turkish army. To diminish the envy against his men, he proposed that the whole army should be tithed, in



which case the Provençals, as the richest, would have to contribute by far the most. Of what was thus collected a fourth was given to the bishops, a fourth to the clergy who celebrated mass, the remainder to Peter the Hermit to distribute among the poor and the clergy. All now came and encamped together, and seemed disposed to prosecute the siege of Arca with vigour.

#### CONTROVERSY ABOUT THE HOLY LANCE.

THE harmony which was beginning to prevail now received an interruption from a dispute which arose respecting the celebrated Holy Lance. Long since, Boemond had maintained in Antioch, that the finding of the lance was all a trick devised by Peter, with the knowledge of the count of Toulouse, and that Peter had taken advantage of the darkness and the pressure of the crowd, to stick an old rusty Arab lance-head in the ground, and then to pretend he had found it there. More important matters engaging the thoughts of the crusaders at the time, the matter was not noticed any further; but now Arnulf, the chaplain of the duke of Normandy, came forward as the leader of the sceptics. This Arnulf, who makes a figure in the subsequent history, was a man of eloquence, of some learning, but of very indifferent morals; and he seems to have been urged to attack the genuineness of the lance by his master, who, like Tancred, wished to avenge on the count the degradation of having received his pay.

Arnulf commenced by showing, from history, that the lance which pierced the Saviour at Jerusalem could not be buried in Antioch. The Provençal clergy deemed themselves bound in honour to maintain the truth of the legend, and they demanded of Arnulf what further reason he had for doubting it. He said, because the Bishop Ademar of Puy had doubted it. Then came forward a priest, named Desiderius, and said, "Know that Bishop Ademar appeared to me after his death, with St. Nicholas, and said to me, 'I am sitting in the same choir with this saint, and am not damned; but as I sinfully doubted of the genuineness of the holy lance, I was brought through hell, where, as thou seest, the right side of my hair and beard was singed. I shall not be admitted to the full sight of God till my hair and beard are grown again.'" He scarce had

ended, when another priest, named Eberhard, arose and said, "Know that it is written in a Syrian gospel of St. Peter, that Christians would be shut up in Antioch, but would be delivered from the power of their enemies by the virtue of the holy lance." A third said, "I spoke with St. Mark: he was posting from Alexandria to Antioch, whither Christ had summoned all his disciples to fight against the Turks." "The Holy Virgin herself," said a fourth, "appeared to me, and announced the delivery of her people on the fifth day: on that very day the lance was found."

Arnulf affected to be overwhelmed by the testimony of so many heavenly witnesses, and he declared that he believed everything. Next day he was to ask forgiveness publicly for his unbelief; but when about to do so, he started a doubt if he could justly do it, without the consent of his liege lord the duke of Normandy, and mingled so much raillery and jest in his discourse and defence of himself, that Peter Bartholomæus, who was a poor ignorant creature, and perhaps had worked himself into a belief of the miracle, grew angry, and cried, "Since credit is not given to so many witnesses, to prove the genuineness of the lance, I will go through fire with it."

This offer was accepted by both parties. Peter prepared himself for the ordeal by fasting and prayer; two piles of dry olive-leaves were heaped up to the height of four feet; their length was fourteen feet, and a narrow path lay between them. On the afternoon of Good Friday, princes and people of the pilgrim-host, to the number of forty thousand, assembled round the piles. Peter came forth lightly clad. The piles were kindled, and as they blazed most fiercely to the height of thirty feet, Raymond d'Agiles, the count's chaplain, cried aloud, "If Almighty God has spoken face to face with this man, and St. Andrew has shown him waking the holy lance, let him pass uninjured through the fire: but if he has spoken falsehood, let him burn with the lance he bears." Peter knelt down before the bishop of Albara, confessed his sins, affirmed the truth of all he had said, and besought the bishop and all present to join their prayers with his. The bishop signed him with the cross, and put the lance into his hand, and he slowly entered and walked through the flames. He

issued from the other side, blessing the people with the lance, and crying aloud, *God help!* Then arose to heaven the shouts of the believers in the lance. They rushed forward to touch the person of this undoubted favourite of Heaven, and to get pieces of his raiment; they cast him to the earth in their impatience, and his friends rescued him with difficulty. The unhappy man died the following day of the injuries he had sustained from the fire, but the Provençals maintained that his death was caused not by the flames but by the pressure of the multitude. They, however, alone continued to put faith in the lance.

#### VISION OF COUNT ANSELMO.

THE historian, Raymond d'Agiles, who has left us this account of the ordeal, has also recorded the following vision which occurred at this time:\*

As Anselmo, count of Ribeaumont, was sitting one night in his tent, he saw enter it the count of St. Paul's son, Angelram, who had been slain at Marra. "How!" said he, "art thou alive whom I saw lying dead on the field of battle?"—"Thou shouldest know," replied he, "that those who fight for Jesus Christ never die."—"But whence comes that exceeding splendour which surrounds thee?" Angelram, pointing to a palace of crystal and diamonds in the sky, made answer, "It is thence the beauty comes to me which amazes thee. Yonder is my abode; a still fairer one is prepared for thee, which thou soon wilt come to inhabit. Farewell, we meet tomorrow!" So saying, he ascended to heaven. Next morning Anselmo, who was in full health, called to him the clergy, and received the sacraments. He then took leave of his friends, assuring them that he was soon to leave the world in which he had known them. A few hours after the enemy made a sally: Anselmo caught up his sword, and ran to the relief. A stone was hurled, which struck him in the forehead, and dismissed him, the historian assures us, to take possession of his glorious palace.

It was thus that by visions and wonders, some the produce of artful invention, others presented by a heated imagination, the fervour was kept up of the crusader's

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\* Comp. *Jer. Del.* xiv. 1 seq.

enthusiasm. He regarded himself as the chosen instrument of God, and all the celestial hierarchies were interested for him who was enduring so much in the cause of Heaven. The present life was vile in his eyes, for his soul was filled with the glories of the supernal abodes, of admittance to which he was fully assured. A similar enthusiasm had animated the Arab in the early days of Islâm; in both times it produced a heroism which nothing could withstand.

#### ARRIVAL OF AMBASSADORS FROM EGYPT.

WHILE the crusaders still lay before Arca, their envoys, whom they had sent upwards of a year before to Egypt, arrived in company with ambassadors from the Fatimite khaleefeh. This monarch had taken advantage of the diversion caused by the pilgrims to recover a portion of the sea-coast from the Turks; he had also succeeded in chasing the tribe of Orthok out of the Holy City, of which he was now master. His tone therefore was altered; he spoke no more of alliance against the Turks; he complained of the hostilities exercised against his Syrian possessions, and required them to give up all thoughts of marching in arms to Jerusalem, and to come in parties of from two to three hundred, as peaceful pilgrims, to worship at the holy places. At the same time the envoys presented large gifts, on the part of their sovereign. The princes spurned the gifts, and replied, that they were not come to Syria to receive the commands of the ruler of Egypt; and that with the aid of God they would reach the goal of their pilgrimage heedless of him. War was thus declared, and the conquest of the Holy City resolved on.\*

Envoys also arrived from the emperor Alexius, to complain of the retention of Antioch by Boemond, contrary to the engagements of the princes, and promising to join them with an army if they would wait till the following July. It was replied, that Alexius had set the example of breaking the engagement, and it was deliberated whether they should wait or not. Raymond, who hoped to

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\* Tasso makes this embassy reach the Christian camp at Emmaüs. *Jer. Del.* c. ii. st. 57.



make that fertile land a principality for himself, as Boemond had done at Antioch, was for delay. All the other princes, declaring that there was no dependence on the word of the emperor, cried that they would no longer lose time, and the matter was near being decided by arms.

#### MARCH TO JERUSALEM.

THE emir of Tripolis, aware of the discord in the Christian camp, led out his forces against them. Though they were driven back, the danger alarmed the princes, and reduced them to unanimity. The people were now no longer to be restrained, and the dukes of Lorraine and Normandy, the count of Flanders, and Tancred, set fire to their camps, and marched for Tripolis, and Raymond found himself obliged to follow them. The impatience of the people, now so near the goal of their desires, was not to be kept in. Though they fed with delight on the sugar-canes which, for the first time in their lives, they saw near Tripolis, they would make no stay; and a large body of them broke up by night, and set forth for Acre by the way of Bairoot (Berytus). The princes, finding that the people would not delay, were glad to come to an accommodation with the emir of Tripolis. He gave them fifteen thousand gold dinars, fifteen horses, and set at liberty three hundred Christian princes. He also presented them with silk dresses and other valuables, and added a supply of provisions. On their part they pledged themselves not to act hostilely against Tripolis, Arca, and Byblus. The mutual confidence was now so great, that the Frank leaders entered the town, and visited the emir in his palace.

It was now deliberated which of the two roads leading to the Holy Land should be taken. From Tripolis eastwards towards Damascus extends the fertile valley of Cœle-Syria, or Hollow Syria, between the lofty ranges of Libanus and Antilibanus, where abundant supplies of every kind might be had. But then the steepes of Libanus should be climbed ere Judæa could be attained, and the recollection of the ascent of Mount Taurus with beasts of burden made the pilgrims pause; they were, moreover, unwilling to go far from their fleet. It was therefore resolved to take their way along the coast of the

sea. Their fleet was now considerable. It had been joined by Pisans, Genoese, Venetians, and Greeks, and by thirty sail from England, which had arrived in these waters at the time of the siege of Antioch.

Conducted by a Saracenic guide, furnished by the emir of Tripolis, the pilgrims marched by Byblus and Maus to Berytus, where they also received gifts to avert hostilities. The governor of Sidon led his people out to oppose them, but was driven back with loss, and the crusaders encamped before the town, and pillaged the country. Next day they crossed, with toilsome march, a steep mountain-ridge, and leaving Sarepta on their right, came and encamped in the luxuriant gardens which lay before the ancient city of Tyre. Having halted there for one night, they resumed their march, and entered the plain in which lies the city of Acre or Ptolemaïs, the Accho of the Bible. The governor of Acre agreed to surrender the town, if they should take Jerusalem, and retain possession of it for twenty days, or else defeat the Egyptian army. Still keeping to the coast, they directed their course for Cæsarea; and as they were proceeding, a pigeon, which had escaped sorely wounded from the claws of a hawk, fell down amongst them.\* She was picked up by the bishop of Apt, and under her wing he found a letter from the governor of Acre to the governor of Cæsarea, containing these words: "Try and do the stupid, quarrelsome, lawless race as much mischief as possible; it will be easy for thee if thou but wilt." The princes deemed it prudent to take no notice of this letter, and on the 29th of May they kept the Pentecost undisturbed in the vicinity of Cæsarea.

Leaving Jaffa (Joppa) on the right, the pilgrims now turned inland, and came to Lydda, where the church of St. George had lately been destroyed by the Infidels. Robert of Flanders pushed forward with five hundred horse for Ramla (Rama), which he found deserted; and meeting there with abundance of provisions, the army made a halt of three days. They kept the festival of St. George at Ramla, and made the first Latin bishop of the Holy Land, in the person of Robert, a priest of Rouen,

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\* Tasso has not omitted this incident. *Jer. Del.* xviii. 49 seq.

who was consecrated to the see of Lydda and Ramla each pilgrim giving him a tenth of what he possessed. From Ramla the host advanced to Emmaüs, an easy day's journey from the Holy City.\*

At Emmaüs the chiefs again consulted: some proposed that they should for the present pass Jerusalem by, and, leading the army into Egypt, conquer that country, and then the provinces would fall of course, and the dominion so established be more permanent. But others thought, and justly, that their forces were now not adequate to such an extensive enterprise, and the earnest longing produced by the proximity of the Holy City outweighed, in the minds of most, all the calm suggestions of interest or prudence. It was resolved to advance without delay, and invest the hallowed walls of Zion.

#### APPROACH TO JERUSALEM.

WHILE the pilgrims tarried at Ramla, their camp was entered by a deputation from the Christian inhabitants of Bethlehem, praying them to send thither a party of their warriors, lest the Saracens, on their way to Jerusalem, should destroy their handsome new church. The charge was given to Tancred, and with the dawn of the following morning, he and one hundred chosen knights reached the town hallowed by the birth of the Saviour of man. The people came forth with joy to receive the Western warriors, singing psalms and holy hymns, and led them to the abode of Mary, and showed them the stable in which the Holy Infant had lain. In pious adoration the knights knelt and prayed to their Redeemer; then placing the banner of their leader on the church, they mounted their horses, and pressed forwards toward Jerusalem. Tancred's impatience urged him on before his companions; he even ventured to approach the walls, and crossing the Valley of Jehoshaphat to ascend the Mount of Olives, to view the interior of the town. The sun was now declining toward the west, and his beams distinctly marked each object; a hermit drew nigh to the

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\* This is not the Emmaüs mentioned in the Gospel (Luke xxiv. 13), which was only sixty furlongs from Jerusalem. It was the town named Latrûn, on the direct road from Ramla to the Holy City, near which are the ruins of Nicopolis, anciently called Emmaüs (*'Amwäs*).



Bethlehem.





daring Frank, and pointed out to him each well-known spot within the town and round the walls. As he was retiring he craved his name. "Tancred, a Norman of the race of Robert Guiscard," was the reply. "I no longer wonder at thy courage," said the hermit; "many years ago I heard that name in Greece, and was wont to tremble at it." At length the Saracens, discerning the knight, came forth to attack him, and he hastened to rejoin his friends.

The meanest pilgrim in the Christian camp was as eager as Tancred could have been to reach the sacred town, and could not brook the slightest delay. Even during the night of the 5th of June, a knight, named Gaston of Biterre, set forth with thirty companions, and drove some cattle that were feeding under the walls of Jerusalem. The Saracens issued forth to the rescue, and but for the timely aid of Tancred, he would have paid dear for his temerity.\* The prey was brought to the Christian camp, and the pilgrims shed tears of joy when they learned that the knights had seen Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and even driven the cattle from beneath the walls of the Holy City. Their impatience now knew no bounds; all pressed forward to ascend the interjacent hill, and catch the first sight of the walls and towers of Zion.

At length they reached the summit, and the sacred city and her environs, hallowed by a thousand awful associations, lay full in their view, bright in the beams of the morning sun of the east. A mingled sentiment of joy and reverence pervaded every bosom. Humbly falling on their knees, they kissed the sacred soil, and devoutly prayed to God for his further aid. All the toils and all the sufferings they had undergone since the hour they had left their homes were forgotten. They reflected not that a dubious and a severe conflict awaited them ere they could pay their vows at the tomb of Christ. Loudly, as they gazed on Zion, rose to Heaven the psalms and spiritual songs, in which they gave vent to their pious feelings, and many humbly bared their feet, deeming the ground they trod to be holy.

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\* Tasso, *Jer. Del.* c. iii. st. 14. *et seq.*

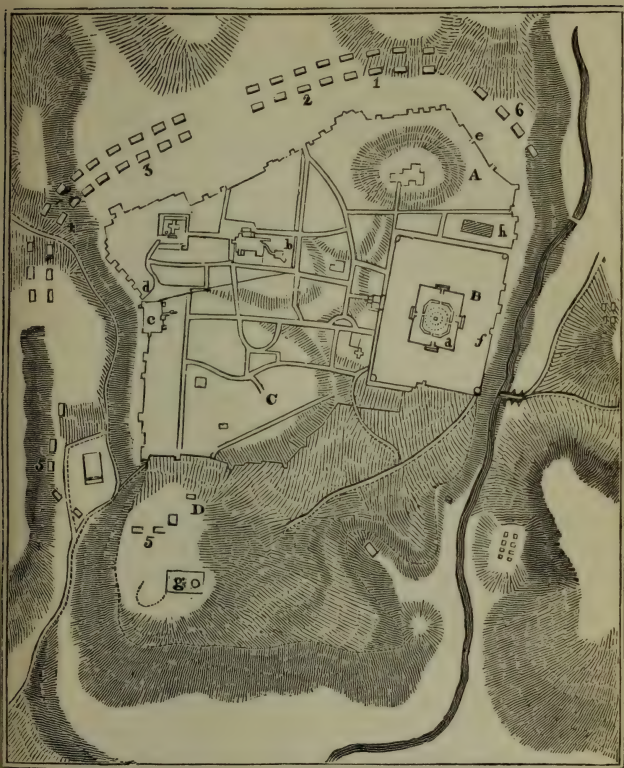
And surely, even in these days of boasted knowledge and philosophy, little to be envied is he who could unmoved look upon Jerusalem and the district which surrounds her walls. Even should scepticism have chilled the fervour of his early feelings, the principle of association would assert its power; the scenes of Scripture would return to memory in all the charms which first invested them, and Jerusalem be gazed on with an interest no other object could excite.

The uneven *plateau* or table-land\* which extends through Judæa from the plains of Jezreel or Esdraelon (between the sea and the Jordan) to the desert of Arabia, presents to view, where it is parallel to the commencement of the Dead Sea, an interruption on its surface, forming as it were an island surrounded by a deep valley, and depressed beneath the level of the adjoining parts of the table-land. On the southern portion of this island has stood for thousands of years the city of Jerusalem, which we will now proceed to describe.

This city has, since the time of our Lord, consisted of four parts. The first and most ancient is on the southern extremity, named Mount Zion, which was separated from the remainder of the city by a cavity running from the valley on the east in a westward and a north-westward direction; the former separating it from the part of the city named by Josephus Acra, the latter from Mount Moriah the site of the Temple, which mount this branch of the cavity also separates from Acra; but at its extremity these two parts unite. The fourth part of the city, named by Josephus Bezetha (*i.e.* *Newtown*, in Syriac),

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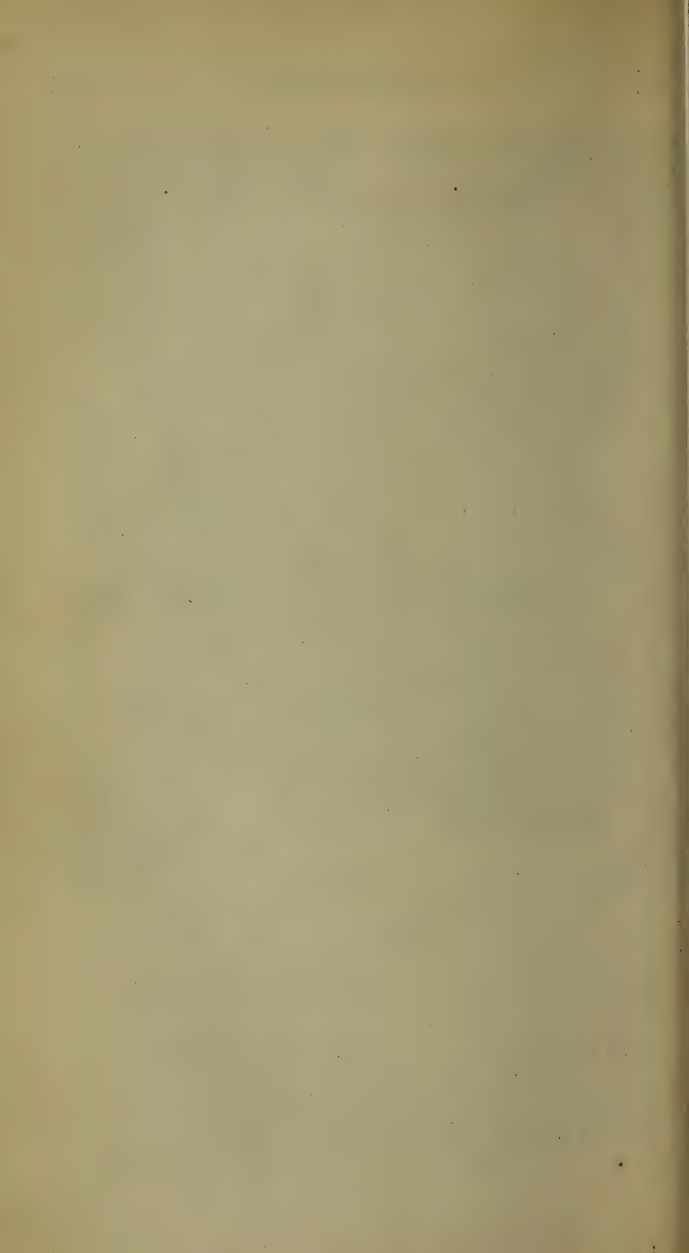
\* This table-land is bounded on the east by the deep plain or valley of the Jordan, named El-Ghôr, and by the Dead Sea; on the west by the plain which extends along the coast of the Mediterranean, named in its northern part Sharon, in its southern Shephlah, both of which words signify level land or plain. Judæa is therefore, we may say, Mexico on a very reduced scale. In like manner, the Dead Sea is a miniature of the Mediterranean, the Caspian, and such seas as receive the waters of all the surrounding countries, and have no outlet, evaporation sufficing to carry off all that they pour into it. Its most exact parallel is Lake Urmiah, to the south of Tebreez in Persia, which, like it, drains the surrounding country, has no outlet, and whose waters have the same density and the same degree of bitterness. The surface of the Dead Sea is between 1300 and 1400 feet below the level of the Red Sea and the Mediterranean, being the lowest water-level on the face of the globe. The level of Lake Tiberias is in like manner 650 feet below the level of the Mediterranean; so that the fall of the Jordan in the space between the two lakes is upwards of 700 feet. This space in a direct line is not more than 60 miles, but the windings of the stream are such as to give it a course of nearly 200 miles.



*References.*

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|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| A Bezetha.                    | f Gate of Mount Olivet.        |
| B Moriah.                     | g Church of the Mother of God. |
| C Acra.                       | h Pool of Bethsaida.           |
| D Zion.                       | 1 Camp of Robert of Normandy.  |
| a The Temple.                 | 2 ——— Robert of Flanders.      |
| b Holy Sepulchre.             | 3 ——— Tancred.                 |
| c Tower of David.             | 4 ——— Godfrey of Bouillon.     |
| d Gate of David, or of Joppa. | 5 ——— Raymond of Toulouse.     |
| e Gate of St. Stephen.        | 6 Last attack of Godfrey.      |





is on the north of Mount Moriah. The whole of this space is surrounded by a wall and towers, within which however only a small portion of Mount Zion is included. It has four principal gates—namely, that of Jaffa on the west, by the Tower of David, the northern termination of Mount Zion; that of Damascus on the north; that of St. Stephen on the east, just above Mount Moriah; that of Zion on the south. The valley on the west is named that of Gihon; that on the south, of the Son of Hinnom; that on the east, and which goes round the island on the north, of Jehoshaphat. The lowest point of the city is Mount Moriah. From the north of Acra and Bezetha the ground gradually slopes in a plain, till it rises again on the brink of the northern part of the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The most elevated part of the surrounding mountain-circle is the Mount of Olives, opposite Moriah on the east. A winter-torrent, named Kidron, runs through the Valley of Jehoshaphat, at whose southern extremity it turns and runs on to the Dead Sea. At the commencement of the cavity between Zion and Moriah is the basin of water named the Pool of Siloam.\*

On a level space, five hundred paces long, four hundred paces wide, on the south side of Mount Moriah, stood and still stands, on the site of Solomon's Temple, the stately mosk erected by Omar, and adorned by the Om-miyade khaleefeh Merwân. The quadrangle was surrounded by walls and covered walks; four arched gates, each sixteen feet in height, and seven feet in width, led into it from the four cardinal points; and over the gates, and at the corners, rose minarets, from which the voice of the Imâms† summoned the Moslems to prayer. Within this court was a second quadrangle of two hundred paces in length, and a hundred and fifty in breadth, elevated six feet above its level. Its sides ran parallel with those of the exterior one, and four short flights of steps, opposite the four gates, led up to its area, flagged with white marble, on which no one dared to tread, unless with bare and pure feet. In the centre rose the octangular mosk, two hundred and fifty-six paces in circumference, and sixteen fathoms in height. Its roof, which was nearly flat, was

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\* *Jer. Del.* c. iii. st. 55, 56.

† The Imâms are the Mohammedan clergy.

covered with lead ; and four doors, each supported by six pillars of marble or porphyry, opened to the north, south, east, and west. The walls were covered within and without with white marble ; variegated marble covered the floor. The roof was supported by four-and-twenty pillars of grey marble, which formed a large circle ; a smaller circle of sixteen pillars, about three feet higher, sustained the cupola, which, rising at first octangular, like the mosk itself, was finally crowned with a small round roof. Doors and windows opened from each of its eight sides, giving an easy passage out on the flat roof.\*

Such was—such, we may say, is—Jerusalem ; and we trust that this description, and the accompanying views, will make the subsequent narrative clear to the reader.

#### SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

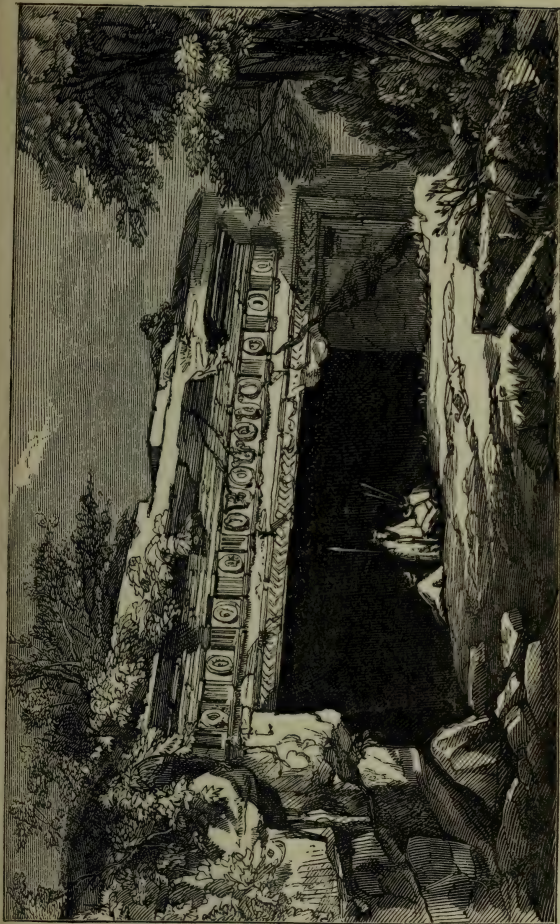
**A**FDAL, the vizier of the khaleefeh of Egypt, had taken advantage of the dissensions which broke out among the Seljukians, after the death of Malek Shah, to recover Syria. Jerusalem had opened its gates to him after a siege of forty days, and the emir Iftikhar-ed-dowlah (*Ornament of the State*) now governed it in the name of the Fatimite khaleefeh. On hearing of the approach of the Christians, the first care of the emir was to repair the walls and towers of the city, and collect within it arms and munitions ; he then laid waste the country to a great distance, leaving food for neither man nor beast. He expelled from the town all those Christians whose fidelity was dubious, allowing only a few to remain on payment of large sums of money.

Many Christians who, from terror or other motives, had embraced Islâm, now, emboldened by the vicinity of the crusaders, returned to their ancient faith. Among these was a Norman knight, named Hugh Buduel, who, having fled from home for a murder he had committed, had taken refuge among the Moslems, and adopted their creed. His knowledge of the language and manners of the Saracens made him now highly acceptable to the pilgrims, and they readily excused his former apostasy.

Iftikhar-ed-dowlah had summoned the Moslems of the neighbouring towns to repair to the defence of the Holy

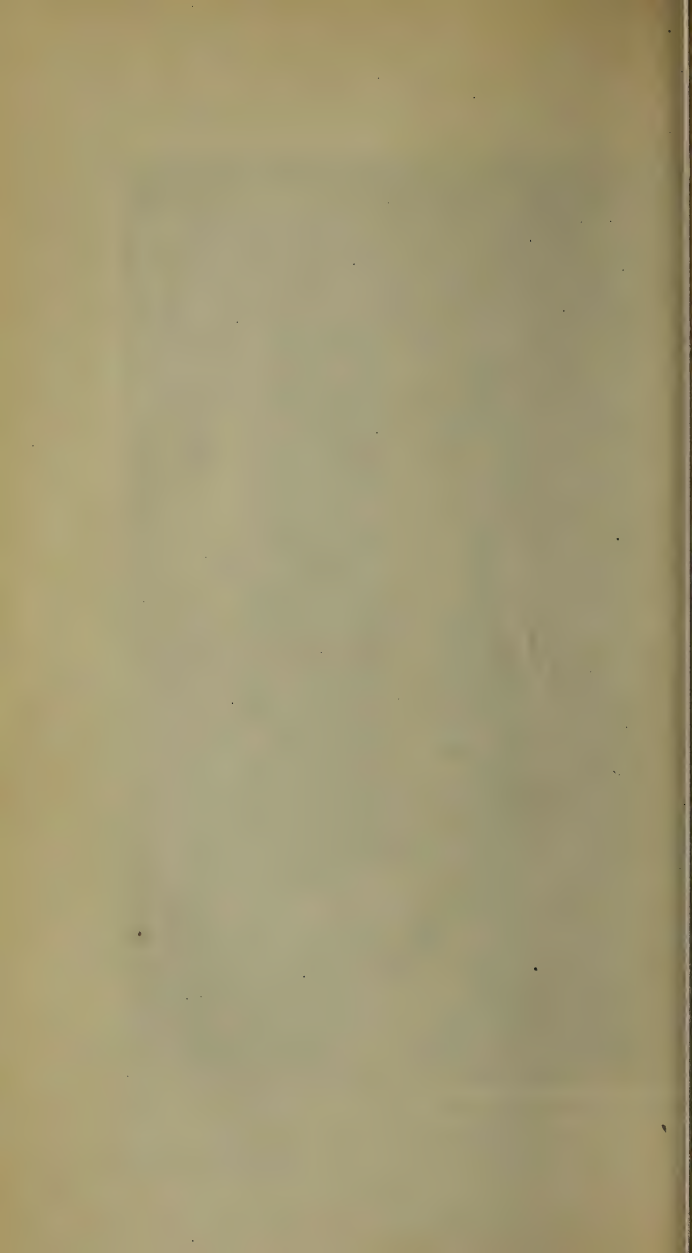
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\* For this description of the mosk of Omar we are indebted to Raumer's *Geschichte der Hohenstauffen*.



Tombs of the Kings of Judah.





City, and he could now count forty thousand warriors within its walls. The number of the Christian host, including the aged, the sick, and the women, was about the same, but it contained only twenty thousand foot, and fifteen hundred knights capable of service.

On the 7th of July, the pilgrim-army came beneath the walls of Jerusalem, and pitched their lines on the north and west. The camp of the duke of Lorraine was on the west before the Tower of David, where the fiercest attacks were to be expected; left of him were Tancred and the count of Toulouse; then came the troops of Robert of Flanders: the duke of Normandy stood before the gate of Damascus, northwards of the town. The lofty hills and deep valleys which surrounded the remainder of the city, prevented the investment of the other sides.\* Count Raymond shortly after, of his own accord, removed his quarters to Mount Zion, in order to protect the church of the Mother of God, which lay in that direction. Nearly all his knights abandoned him, offended at his having acted without consulting them; but soon finding that they could not well dispense with the pay which they had received from his coffers, they gladly consented to a reconciliation.

On the fifth day a general assault was made; the pilgrims carried the outer wall after an obstinate combat, but the besieged retired behind the inner wall, and those who attempted to mount it by the aid of ladders were hurled to the ground. The princes ordered the horn to sound a retreat, and the baffled warriors returned to their quarters.

It was evident now that no miracle, as some had fondly expected, would be wrought in favour of the army of the Cross, that they must prepare for a protracted siege, and that without military engines the town could not be taken. But in this naked region, which presented no tree larger than the olive, how was timber to be procured? This reflection caused much perplexity to both princes and people. At length a Syrian Christian conducted them to a valley a few miles from Jerusalem, on the way to Neapolis (*Nablos*, or *Sichem*), where they found a wood, the trees of

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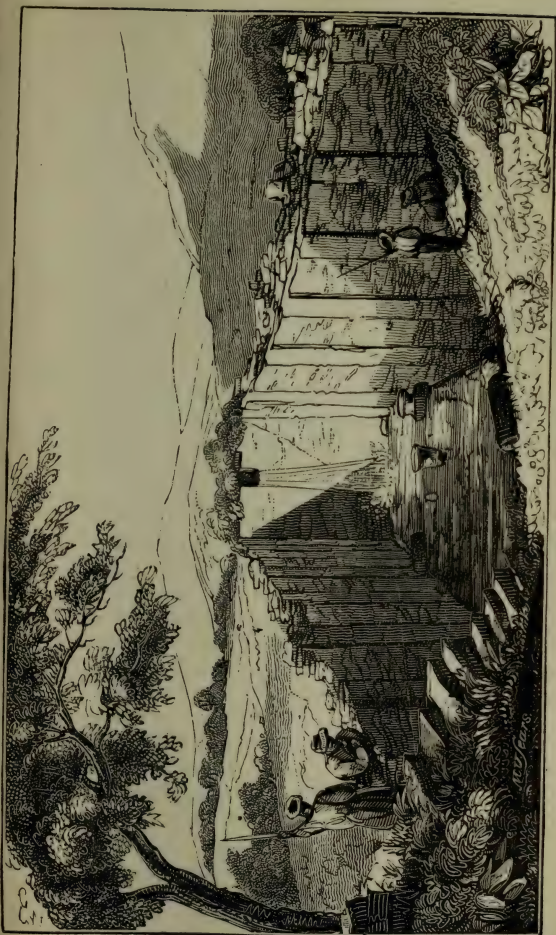
\* *Jer. Del.* c. iii. st. 64, 65.

which, though of no great dimensions, were sufficiently large for the construction of engines. Tancred also one day discovered in a cavern a quantity of large beams which had been left there by the Egyptians at the time of the last siege. The artificers were instantly set to work, but such was the poverty of the princes, that the money to pay them was only to be raised from the voluntary contributions of the pilgrims. The count of Toulouse alone was in a condition to pay his workmen and support his knights.

All, however, without exception, old and young, women and children, knights and foot-men, put their hand to the work. Those who could do nothing else aided to level the ground, or gather brushwood to make fascines for filling up the trenches. Count Raymond forced his Saracen prisoners, who were men of great strength, to give their aid in conveying the timber. The garrison meantime remained quite still, for they knew that a formidable foe was coming to their aid.

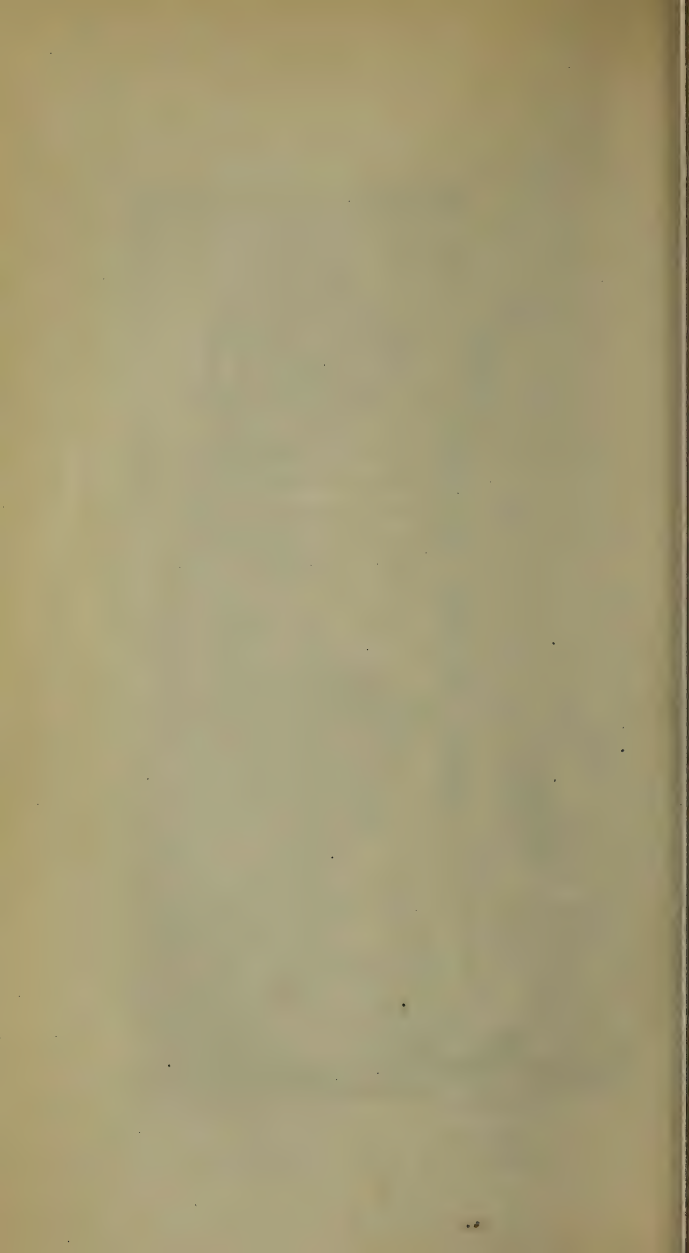
The burning sun of a Syrian summer now poured its fiercest rays on a land where no tree offered shelter from the heat, no stream ran to afford a relief from parching thirst; the brook of Kidron was a mere dry channel, the small supply yielded by the perennial fount of Siloah was salt and unpalatable, the wells had all been filled up by the Saracens, and though light clouds continually excited hopes of rain, these hopes were continually deceived, and even the dew of heaven was withheld. Water could only be procured at a distance of six miles, whence it was fetched in skins on the backs of beasts of burden; and when the pilgrims repaired for it, they were assailed by the Arabs, who lay in ambush in the caverns and thickets. The supply thus procured was never sufficient for the army; it was sold at a high price, and the pilgrims fought with each other for the possession of small quantities of it.

The horses and mules were the first to suffer from the want of water. They died in heaps, and their bodies infected the air. The pilgrims themselves then became the victims of thirst, and of the burning heat, and the fatal south wind, against which they had no shelter. They dug holes in the earth and lay naked in them, and placed



The Pool of Siloam.





fresh sods on their bosoms to allay the heat, but in vain ; they drank blood, and licked the bottoms of stones which they raised up out of the ground, but the refreshment thus obtained was only momentary. Their sufferings beneath the walls of Jerusalem far exceeded those at Antioch. There it was hunger and the rigour of winter : here it was thirst and the burning heat of summer ! Even hunger seemed about to come to augment their sufferings, and for ten days there was no bread to be seen in the camp.

Many pilgrims now believing that they were fated never to behold the holy sepulchre, went, according to usage, to bathe in the Jordan, and to pluck the consecrated palm in Jericho, previous to setting out for Joppa on their return home ; but the Arabs lay in wait, and many were slain by their arrows. Such of the pilgrims as escaped hastened to Joppa. There were others who, despairing of ever entering the city, resolved at least to kiss its sacred walls, and many, as they approached them for that purpose, were crushed beneath the stones cast down by the Saracens.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR STORMING THE TOWN.

NEWS now reached the camp that a Genoese fleet, carrying wine and provisions, had arrived at Joppa, and that the crews were anxious to come and aid in the siege. Waldemar Carpinell, a knight in the service of the count of Toulouse, was instantly sent forward by that prince with thirty men to examine the condition and security of the road, and Raymond Piletus followed with eighty horse and a proportional number of foot, to convoy the strangers to the camp. Between Ramla and Lydda, Carpinell was attacked by six hundred Saracen horsemen, and his whole party would have been cut off but for the timely arrival of Piletus. Several of the Saracens were slain, some were made prisoners, and the rest put to flight.

Among the captives was one man of lofty stature and stately mien ; a long white beard flowed down to his girdle, and every act showed the noble qualities of a pure and upright mind. His appearance moved the reverence of the pilgrims, and every effort was made to induce him to renounce his errors and adopt the faith of Christ. But

firm to what he believed to be the truth, the venerable Moslem was unmoved, and the pilgrims saw themselves compelled by the maxims which then prevailed amongst them to put the obstinate infidel to death without mercy. How lamentable it is that the ferocity of blind fanaticism should so frequently be united with benevolence and natural humanity! When will all Christians learn that the love which should distinguish the disciples of Christ can never be evinced by cruelty and persecution?

At Joppa there was only standing the castle, the town having been destroyed by the inhabitants; and as there is no harbour, the ships were lying in the open road. A large Egyptian fleet sailed thither from Ascalon to attack them, and the Christians, finding themselves too weak to engage the Saracens, abandoned their ships to them, when they had taken out all the stores. One vessel only escaped to Laodicea.

The arrival of the new comers was a joyful sight in the camp, not only on account of the provisions which they brought, but because their tools were better than those in use and the workmen more expert. The wealthy count of Toulouse took the artificers into his pay, and the machines now advanced rapidly. The garrison, who from the towers saw everything that was done in the Christian camp, were equally active in the construction of similar machines.

As the enemy frequently came out at the East-gate, and slew or carried off solitary pilgrims, it was now resolved to take possession of the Mount of Olives. A party was stationed there, and soon after two Egyptian envoys, who were coming to the town without any suspicion, were taken. One was instantly put to death, the other, by threats, was made to confess that before fourteen days a large army would arrive to the relief of Jerusalem. The fate of Dolon was that of the luckless envoy; when he had told all he knew, the pilgrims tied his hands and feet together, and attempted to hurl him into the town; but the strength of the engine not sufficing, he fell on the jagged rocks beneath the walls and died miserably.

## RELIGIOUS PROCESSION OF THE PILGRIMS.

THE tidings of the approach of the Egyptian army made the princes resolve to lose no time in storming the town. The clergy, who called to mind that the walls of Jericho had fallen when compassed seven times by the Children of Israel, expecting a similar miracle, or more probably deeming that an act of piety would be agreeable to Heaven, and would raise the confidence of the pilgrims, proposed to the princes to lead the army in solemn procession round the walls of Jerusalem. Visions, it was asserted as usual, came to enforce this advice; the sainted Ademar once more left his place of rest, and appeared to a priest named Peter; and a venerable hermit who dwelt in a tower on the Mount of Olives, and enjoyed the gift of prophecy, came and gave the same counsel. The procession was therefore resolved on.

On the morning of Friday, July the 8th, the whole of the pilgrim-host issued from their camp, and directed their steps southwards along the valley of Gihon, to that of Hinnom, by the church of the Mother of God, on Mount Zion. At their head walked the bishops and clergy, clothed in white, bearing crosses, relics, and images of the saints; then came the knights, followed by the people, all fully armed, with banners raised and trumpets sounding; each pilgrim's feet were bare, and each prayed aloud to the saints for their intercession. At the south-east point of Mount Zion they entered the Valley of Jehoshaphat, and directed their steps towards the Mount of Olives. As they moved along, with trumpets sounding and prayers and hymns ascending to heaven, the Saracens, who had at first viewed them with silent amazement, followed their course on the walls, carrying crosses, which they spat on and otherwise insulted, and with their arrows they wounded some of the pilgrims who had ventured too near the walls.\*

At length the procession ascended the Mount of Olives, and here, where the Saviour had shed tears over the city which blindly and obstinately refused to hearken to his calls to repentance, and whence, in view of his astonished

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\* *Jer. Del. c. xi. st. 1 seq.*



disciples, he had ascended to take possession of the glory which awaited him, on this hallowed mount where every spot recalled the memory of Him who had commanded his disciples to love one another, Arnulf, the chaplain of the duke of Normandy,\* standing on an elevated situation, in an eloquent and impressive harangue called on all to lay aside their enmities, and unite as brethren in the cause of God. Then Raymond and Tancred, whose enmity had been most injurious to the Christian cause, gave each other the hand; their example was followed by others. The Hermit, at whose call they all had taken arms, then addressed them, urging them to persevere, and deliver the Saviour, who was daily crucified in the city which lay before them.

With evening the pilgrims re-entered their camp full of joyful anticipations, and their chiefs ordered them to prepare for the assault on the following Thursday.

#### STORMING OF THE CITY.

THE machines were all completed against the appointed time. Duke Godfrey and Count Raymond had each built a wooden tower. These were lofty and square, with a double covering of strong timber on the side next the city; the outer covering was so contrived, that it might be let drop on the walls, and so serve as a bridge for those who were in the tower to enter the town, while the inner one was covered with hides, which protected it sufficiently against fire and missiles.

During the night which preceded the assault, Duke Godfrey and the two Roberts of Flanders and Normandy, who had remarked that the walls were strongest, and the defenders most numerous, in the part opposite their camp, prudently resolved to change their position. They accordingly had all their machines taken to pieces, and carried and set up on the east side of the city, between the gate of St. Stephen and the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The count of Toulouse also had, at great expense, a hollow filled up which lay between his tower and the wall. In the morning the Saracens, missing the camp of the duke of Lorraine, fondly hoped that he was gone away; but soon, to

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\* Others say it was another priest of the same name.

their consternation, they saw him preparing to give the assault in the weakest spot of their walls.

The assault now commenced; the artillery of the Christians hurled stones and darts against the walls; but sacks, filled with wool, straw, and chaff, and transverse beams of timber, which were suspended by the besieged, prevented their doing any injury. The crusaders boldly went up to the walls, but personal valour could avail little against the stones and timber that were hurled down by the besieged. Pots of boiling oil and burning sulphur were emptied out on them, while flaming darts set their military machines on fire, which could only be extinguished by a prodigious expenditure of water. Night terminated the conflict. The Christians augured well from the circumstance of the Saracens not having been able, with all their efforts, to injure a holy crucifix which was fixed on the summit of Duke Godfrey's tower. Each party passed the night in anxiety, fearful of a surprise, and few could enjoy the repose which the prospect of the toils of the morrow enjoined.

With the dawn each warrior took the place he had occupied the preceding evening. The conflict was renewed with redoubled vigour. The Christians were enraged at their disappointment the day before, and the Saracens knew well the fate which awaited them if the town was taken by storm. To destroy the tower of Duke Godfrey, all the efforts of the besieged were now directed; for this purpose they filled a large beam with hooks and nails, between which they fastened tow, straw, and other combustible substances, on which they poured pitch, oil, and wax; then setting fire to it in several places, they flung it against the tower, to which it adhered. The Christians instantly endeavoured to pull it down, but the Saracens had fastened a chain about the middle of it, and they held it fast. The flames spread wide, and now menaced all the machines of the besiegers with destruction; water was poured on them in vain. Fortunately the crusaders had provided vinegar for such an emergency, and it was found effectual.

The conflict had now endured seven hours; many of the pilgrims had retired wearied and hopeless. The duke of Normandy and the earl of Flanders advised to remove

the engines, and defer the assault till the following day. Duke Godfrey kept his men together with difficulty. The Saracens were exulting in the hopes of deliverance. Suddenly, say the historians, about the hour in which our Lord had been placed on the cross, Godfrey cast his eyes toward the Mount of Olives, and there beheld a knight swinging his glittering shield, as a signal to them to go on. "Look!" cried the duke; "See ye not the heavenly sign motioning you onwards?" All now eagerly pressed on with renewed confidence; the sick, and even the women, grasped arms to share in the danger, and in the high reward of victory or death. The engines hurled huge stones into the town. The besieged in their despair had finally recourse to magic: they placed on the walls two sorceresses, whose charms they hoped would avert the storm of war; but as they began their conjurations, a stone from an engine came and crushed to death both them and the three maidens who attended them; and the pilgrims hailed this as another declaration of Heaven in their favour. In less than an hour the outer wall was broken down, the ground cleared and levelled, and the duke's tower brought close to the inner wall. All the beams, bags of straw, and other means of defence of the Saracens, were set on fire. The wind being from the north blew the flame and smoke into the town; and the besieged were nearly blinded and suffocated. The bridge fell from Duke Godfrey's tower on the wall. Two brothers from Flanders, named Ludolf and Engelbert, sprang on it from the second story, and were the first to stand on the walls of Jerusalem; Godfrey, his brother Eustace, and several other knights and pilgrims followed them from the upper story; others placed ladders against the walls and mounted them. The Saracens fled, pursued by the duke and his followers. At the command of Godfrey, the gate of St. Stephen was burst open, and with loud cries of "*God help! God help!*" the crusaders poured in and filled the streets. Heaven, we are told, was not wanting in its aid; some averred that they saw Bishop Ademar\* and a numerous company of those crusaders who had died before the siege, leading the pilgrims on, and planting the

\* Tasso (*Jer. Del.* c.xviii. st. 92.-96) makes a fine use of this fiction. Ademar appears among the celestial warriors, though the poet makes him, who had

standard of the cross on the towers of Jerusalem. The city now resounded with the shouts of the victors, and the unavailing cries for mercy of the vanquished.

Count Raymond was meantime very hard pressed, and his tower was now so shattered, that no one would venture to ascend it. But just at this time the Saracens in the tower of David, hearing that the town was taken on the other side, offered to surrender it to the count, under a promise of being set at liberty and conducted safely to Ascalon. Raymond accepted the terms, and afterwards faithfully kept his word, though he was strongly condemned for such culpable lenity by the other crusaders. The Provençals now pressed with such eagerness into the town, that not less than sixteen of them were crushed to death in the gate. Tancred, as he urged his way through the unknown streets, to his amazement, heard the sound of voices singing the *Miserere*, and found that it proceeded from the Christians of Jerusalem who were assembled in terror in the church of the Holy Sepulchre. He left them a guard for their protection and hastened on. The Saracens fled from the streets into the houses for shelter; ten thousand of them crowded within the walled area of the mosk of Omar, but the Christians speedily burst the gates, and rushing in slaughtered them so pitilessly and so rapidly, that, as the historian says, "in the temple and porch of Solomon they rode in blood up to the knees and to the horses' bridles." Three hundred, who had escaped up to the roof, were granted their lives by Tancred, who planted his banner on the mosk to protect them. The

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died at Antioch, be alive so late as the time of the procession, and fall by the hand of the female warrior, Clorinda.

The poet's description of the planting of the standard of the cross on the walls of Jerusalem is exquisitely beautiful:—

"The glorious ensign in a thousand wreaths  
And folds voluminous rejoicing twines;  
It seems the wind on it more sweetly breathes;  
It seems the sun on it more brightly shines;  
That each tossed javelin, each aimed shaft declines  
To strike the staff: the streets Hosannas sound;  
Floods clap their hands, on mountains dance the pines;  
Seems it that Sion, that her green hills crowned,  
Stoop from the clouds their crests, and bend adoring round."

c. xviii. st. 100.

The seventh line, which is due to Fairfax, has nothing corresponding to it in the original. The entire stanza falls far short of the truth and simplicity of the Italian.



temple contained twenty golden and four hundred silver lamps ; its walls were covered with metal, and within it lay many articles of great value. All these became the prey of Tancred, but as he was in the service of the duke of Lorraine, he was obliged to share the booty with him, and also to give up a portion to the Church.

The crusaders now sped away to the synagogue of the Jews. These unfortunate people, the hereditary enemies of Christ, had no mercy to expect from his faithful lieges. Short work was made with them ; the synagogue was set on fire, and all within it burned to death. The massacre still continued in all parts of the city ; blood ran in streams ; the streets were strewn with mangled limbs. As it had been agreed that each crusader should possess whatever house or other place he made himself master of, the warriors dispersed in small parties in quest of gain. Now all the houses were burst open, and all their inmates, old and young, men, women, and children, slaughtered without remorse. Even simple death was not deemed sufficient ; the modes of it were varied. Some were compelled to jump from the towers, others were flung from the windows ; infants were snatched from the breasts of their mothers, and their brains dashed out against the walls or door-posts. Some unhappy wretches were roasted before slow fires, to make them declare where their wealth was secreted. Out of forty thousand, or, according to the Oriental writers, seventy thousand Saracens, there remained not enough alive to bury the dead, and the poorer sort of pilgrims were obliged to give their aid in the work when the victors began to clear and purify the town.

As long as the Saracens resisted, Duke Godfrey fought valiantly against them, and chased them through the streets, slaying without pity the polluters of the holy places. He then clad himself in the pilgrim's frock, and hastened to the church of the Holy Sepulchre to humble himself before his Lord.

The shades of evening were now falling, and the warriors, fatigued with slaughter, sheathed their swords, and thought of repose. Suddenly they reflected that they were now in the city which contained the holy places, the deliverance of which had been the object of their pil-

grimace and their warfare. Then each pilgrim purified his person and his arms from the blood of the Infidels; he bared his head and feet, and in humble attitude moved along the streets, which still ran blood, to the place where his Saviour had died for him, and had been laid in the tomb. The shout of triumph, the shriek of despair, no longer resounded through the streets; a solemn silence had succeeded, and now were to be heard only the hymn of praise and thanksgiving and the prayer of penitence, as with downcast looks the warriors sought the Mount of Calvary. Here the clergy of the place received them with loud expressions of gratitude for the deliverance their arms had achieved, and much did they extol the Hermit, who had thus fulfilled the promise made five years before. The pilgrims could not satiate themselves with viewing the holy places; they confessed their sins, and promised amendment of life.

How wonderful, nay almost incredible, is this sudden change from the most remorseless cruelty to such meek and fervent piety! Yet, like every well-attested action of man, it must have been conformable to the principles of his nature; and the inquirer has only to examine what were the circumstances which on this occasion modified the general principles. The barbarism of manners of the Latin nations might suffice to explain the cruelty, but whence arose its conjunction with humility? Of this we must confess we can only find the solution in the feudal principle, which was then at its height, and whose influence we may trace in the religion as well as the manners of the times. He will form a very erroneous estimate of the religion of the crusaders, who measures it by the standard of the Gospel. The pure and beneficent system which its pages present had been strangely deformed by the admixture of the ideas belonging to the martial creed of the Gothic and Germanic tribes, and unfortunately the nature of the Mosaic dispensation was then misunderstood, as it afterwards was by the fanatics of the seventeenth century in our own country. We find the historians of the crusade, though liberal as the Puritans of passages of Scripture, deriving their quotations almost exclusively from the Old Testament, applying to Christians what was designed solely for Israelites, and calmly

representing the slaughter of the heathen as good service done unto God.

From this mingled spirit of feudalism and religion, a crusader must have regarded himself as the vassal of Jesus Christ, the Lord and King of the whole earth, whose rights and honour he was bound to maintain at peril of life and limb, whom he was to love and obey; and who, on His side, would protect and reward with possessions, either in this world or in that which is to come, the faithful vassal who cheerfully risked his life in His service. And further, as humility toward his superior formed an essential part of the character of a vassal, we shall the less wonder to see the warrior who had ruthlessly slaughtered those whom he regarded as the foes of his Lord, and the unjust usurpers of his heritage, becoming humble and contrite in those places which reminded him of all that his gracious Lord had done and suffered for him.

We would also, ere we quit the subject of feudalism, beg of the reader to observe how little there has appeared, in the history of the first crusade, of that ideal state of manners termed *chivalry*. No one surely will take Tancred, brave and generous as he was, for the model of a perfect knight of romance. As little of chivalry will appear in the subsequent history of the crusades. In fact chivalry never existed but in the brains of romancers, and no one ever dreamed of mingling it with the crusades, till after the appearance of Tasso's splendid epic, which displayed the events and characters of real history in the garb of fiction,\* and which may be in some measure regarded as the parent of the historic romance of modern times, from which last species of composition we should seek in vain to derive just ideas of the times and manners which it affects to describe.

#### ELECTION OF A KING.

THE horrid work of slaughter was not yet over; the crusaders rose next morning fresh and vigorous to their task, and, spite of all the efforts of Tancred, the Saracens to whom he had given quarter in the mosk were all mas-

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\* Most of the preceding circumstances of the storming of the town will be found in the *Jer. Del.* c. xviii.

sacred. Three days after, it was unanimously agreed to put all the remaining Saracens to death, lest they should aid the efforts of the approaching Egyptian army. Even the children of a year old were not spared by these ferocious vassals of a meek and gentle Lord! Count Raymond however nobly protected his prisoners, though the more zealous could see in his conduct nothing but the meanness of avarice. It is to be regretted that the duke of Lorraine does not appear as an advocate for mercy, but he seems to have been as fully imbued as any with the belief that the enemy of Christ was not to be spared, and to have differed from others only in this, that his cruelty was unalloyed with selfishness.

Hitherto the pilgrim-army had had no commander-in-chief; each prince acted independently, and the whole presented the aspect of a military confederacy, rather than that of a regular army. The valour and union of all, both high and low, for one object, had sufficed to ensure them ultimate success. But now that the conquests were to be retained, one single head was required, and it was resolved to choose among the princes a king of Jerusalem.

A vain attempt was made by the clergy, headed by Arnulf, and the bishop of Matera, in Calabria, to extend to the Holy Land the theocratic principle which the pope and his adherents were labouring to establish in Europe. But the princes took little heed of them, as, since the deaths of the bishops of Puy and Orange, their morals had been so relaxed, that they had lost their influence with the people. The irregularities of Arnulf in particular had been put into verse, and these ballads were in the mouths of all the pilgrims.

It was resolved by the electors that not alone the more brilliant qualities of the candidates should be considered, but that their private lives should be inquired into. For this purpose their servants and attendants were examined. Those of Count Raymond said much to his disadvantage; but, as was afterwards asserted, they were induced to do so through fear of being detained in the Holy Land, if he should be made king. Raymond himself, either not courting royalty, or willing to escape the mortification of rejection, declared that he would not



be a king ; and Robert of Normandy showed no desire for the crown of Jerusalem, which he judged would be an uneasy one, and therefore little suited to his indolent temper.

All that the servants of Duke Godfrey said to his disadvantage was, that whenever he entered a church there was no prevailing on him to come out of it till he had wearied every one there with his inquiries about every picture in it, and every history of a saint connected with it, by which means the food that was prepared for their meals frequently was cold before they could eat it. In the eyes of the judges this was a very small fault ; and as, moreover, Godfrey, a native of the borders of France and Germany, and acquainted with the language of each country, possessed the art of appeasing the disputes which so frequently broke out between the two peoples, and altogether had more of the qualities requisite for the government of a new state than any other of the princes, the choice fell upon him. On the 22nd of July, 1099, he was proclaimed king of Jerusalem, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, amidst the choral chant of hymns to Heaven. But he was not crowned or anointed, as his humility would not permit him to wear a crown of gold in the place where his Lord had borne one of thorns. Arnulf was shortly after made chancellor of the church of Jerusalem, and overseer of the holy places and hospitals, till the appointment of a patriarch ; for the patriarchate was now vacant, the venerable Simeon having died a short time before in Cyprus.

Godfrey now required Count Raymond to put the tower of David into his possession, and on his hesitating to do so, declared that he would lay down his dignity if any place were withheld from him. The count, urged by the other princes, put it into the hands of the bishop of Albara, who instantly gave it up to Godfrey, pretending that he could not withstand superior force. Raymond, in indignation, then left Jerusalem, and went on a pilgrimage to the Jordan.

The new monarch, agreeably to the piety of his character, instantly set about regulating the religious institutions at Jerusalem. The monks, who had accompanied the pilgrims from Europe, were assigned a handsome esta-

blishment in the valley of Jehoshaphat, as a reward for their piety and perseverance.

But what most conduced at this time to augment the joy and confidence of the pilgrims was, the discovery of a piece of the true cross on which their Lord had suffered. A Christian inhabitant of Jerusalem came and told some of the knights, that during the time of the siege he had buried in the earth, to conceal it from the Infidels, a cross half an ell long, and ornamented with gold, in which was inserted a piece of the True Cross. On a Friday, all the people, headed by the clergy, went in solemn procession to the designated place, and with loud hymns of joy raised the sacred relic, and bore it to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the custody of it was committed to Arnulf, the representative of the patriarch. As we proceed, we shall find this holy cross inspiring the Christians with a valour that nothing could withstand.

#### BATTLE OF ASCALON.

**N**EARLY a month had elapsed since the conquest of the Holy City, when sure tidings came of the approach of an immense Egyptian army, under the command of the vizier Afdal. Leaving a sufficient garrison in the tower of David, Godfrey set out with his brother Eustace, Tancred, and Robert of Flanders, at the head of all the troops he could collect. He marched by Ramla to the sea-coast, along which he directed his course toward Ascalon. On the way the pilgrims captured some Arabs, from whom they learned that the vizier was advancing by land, and a numerous fleet was sailing along the coast, laden with provisions and all kinds of military stores, and that moreover Afdal had vowed the bloodiest vengeance on the Franks, and the destruction of all the holy places.

It was immediately resolved to send the bishop of Matera to summon Raymond and the duke of Normandy to the aid of their brethren, and Arnulf was required to come with the True Cross, that its presence might exalt the courage of the pilgrims. It was not without some difficulty that the obstinacy of Count Raymond was overcome. Peter the Hermit too declined being present in

the field, and he stayed at Jerusalem in the place of Arnulf.

All the pilgrims were present in the camp, which was pitched between Joppa and Ascalon, and here all bound themselves not to plunder till the victory should have been completely gained. Next morning clouds of dust were seen in the distance, and judging that they must be caused by the approach of the enemy, the Christians set themselves in battle-array; but soon they beheld only horses, camels, and oxen, guided by a few herdsmen, and guarded by a small party of horsemen. This booty fell into their hands, and from the Arabs they learned that the army of Afdal consisted of a hundred thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. In their own camp the Christian leaders counted but five thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot; yet, nothing daunted by the odds, they thought only of victory. The greater number passed the night in the open air, and each pilgrim looked with impatience for the appearance of the dawn.

Morning at length came. It was a Thursday, the 12th of August, and a dawn more bright than usual summoned the pilgrims to the toils of this eventful day.\* Each confessed his sins to a priest, and Arnulf blessed the people with the holy cross. The Moslem emir of Ramla, who was in the camp, was filled with amazement at their joy and exultation; he inquired the cause from Godfrey, who told him that it was their reliance on their Saviour and his holy cross, and the confidence which they felt of being admitted to the joys of heaven if they fell in the fight. The emir, it is said, then requested that he also might be blessed with the sacred relic.

The Christian army advanced in three divisions; Godfrey led the left; the count of Toulouse the right, along the sea-shore; the centre was conducted by Eustace, Tan-

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\* "All stood prepared, and, through the long, long night,  
Expectant pined for morn's returning ray;  
Ne'er did the blue sky show so clear and bright,  
As in the dawning of that noted day;  
Aurora smiled, and seemed in her array  
Of purple radiance with the sun to vie;  
Her amethystine crown she shakes away,—  
All becomes gold; and, without film, the sky  
On great and glorious deeds opes slow its glorious eye."

cred, and the counts of Normandy and Flanders. The loud shouts of the crusaders, and the glittering of their arms, appalled their enemies, who did not think they would venture to face them in the open field. The cattle, too, which the Christians had captured, being driven along by the command of Godfrey, increased the dust, and magnified in the eyes of the Saracens the number of their foes.

At the brook in the vale of Sorek, Arnulf and the clergy stayed; the army passed over, and advanced against the Saracens. Count Raymond took his station among the gardens which extend from the town to the sea; Godfrey stood against the gate of Ascalon, to prevent a sally of the garrison; the duke of Normandy and the other chiefs led their men against the host of Egypt. A thick hail of arrows from the Negroes, who knelt in front of the Saracenic host, protected by large shields, received them as they advanced. The clangor of trumpets, the din of kettle-drums, the strokes and the dreadful sound of the iron flails which the Azopart (as the historians call the Negro troops) swung round and struck against corselet and shield, and the heads of the horses, daunted not the champions of the cross. Robert of Normandy forced his way through the Azopart, reached the place where the royal standard was displayed before the vizier, and slew the man who held it. Tancred, Eustace, and Robert of Flanders, pressed forward, and about the hour in which our Lord was placed on the cross, the strength of the Saracens waxed faint, and they turned and fled. Godfrey cut them off from the town; they made to the sea, but here the sword of the Provençals mowed them down, and a vast number of those who reached it perished in the waves. Tancred and Eustace had meantime stormed the hostile camp, but negligent of their vow the pilgrims turned to plunder, and a large body of Saracens was preparing to fall upon them, when Godfrey descended the hill on which he stood, called them back to arms, and the Saracens turned and fled to the town. Many were crushed to death in the gate, some climbed the trees, hoping thus to be concealed, but they only became thereby defenceless marks for the arrows of the crusaders. Afdal himself escaped with difficulty to the town, leaving behind him his splendid scymitar, which



was sold by the pilgrim into whose hands it fell for sixty byzants. Getting on board the fleet, he made sail for Egypt, in grief and despair at the total rout of his army, and the failure of all his magnificent projects. The loss of the Saracens in this decisive battle is stated at thirty thousand men, while the Christians lost only a few footmen, not a single knight being among the slain.\*

Next morning a part of the pilgrim-army set out for Jerusalem. The hills and dales resounded, as they passed along them, with the loud and joyous notes of their trumpets and cornets; they clashed their cymbals in unison, and the voices of the warriors mingled in harmony with their martial music. On their arrival their brethren came forth to meet them; they advanced to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and returned thanks to the Saviour who had granted them so glorious a victory, and placed in it as a trophy the banner of the khaleefeh of Egypt.

#### DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS.

AFTER waiting some time in vain expectation of the surrender of Ascalon, Godfrey moved his army along the coast to Arsoof; but the garrison of this place had been, like that of Ascalon, secretly advised by Raymond not to surrender. Godfrey and his knights were filled with rage at this conduct of the count of Toulouse, and they advanced with banners displayed to Cæsarea, where he and the other princes lay; but by the efforts of the count of Flanders and the others, the warriors of the cross were prevented from turning their arms against each other, and Raymond soon after set out for Laodicea.

In the camp at Cæsarea the chief pilgrims announced to Godfrey their intention of returning home, as by this last victory they had placed his kingdom in security. The pious prince sought not to detain them; he embraced and with tears bade farewell to the companions of his toils and his triumphs, and besought them, when safe at home, still to think of the sacred cause, and of him and their brethren whom they had left in exile. The pilgrims, to

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\* This battle will be found in the last canto of the *Jerusalem Delivered*; with a poet's license Tasso makes the Egyptian army come up while the crusaders are storming the Holy City. As we have already observed, he has transferred hither much of what occurred at Antioch.

the number of twenty thousand, had bathed in the Jordan, and plucked their palms in the garden of Abraham at Jericho, and now they took their former route along the coast and came to Jibel. As they lay here encamped, they learned that Boemond, aided by a Pisan and Genoese fleet, was laying siege to Laodicea, a town belonging to the Greek emperor. Count Raymond was highly incensed at this intelligence, and Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, who had come as papal legate on board of this fleet, was obliged by the pilgrims to make his countrymen cease to aid Boemond. Count Raymond raised his banner on the town, and Boemond, with his usual prudence, gave up his design, which he saw was not now to be effected.

The two Roberts got on shipboard at Laodicea, and proceeded to Constantinople, where they met a most gracious reception from the emperor. The pilgrims then continued their homeward journey, and most of them reached their abodes in safety.

We may in imagination follow the pilgrims to their respective homes, behold them receiving the congratulations of their friends, and depositing their branches of holy palm in the church of their parish, and listen to their tales of the toils they had undergone, and the novelties they had seen. But among them there are two who deserve a more particular notice, namely, the two Roberts, whom we have often found united in glory and in danger, who fought in the sacred cause with less of selfish views than almost any other of the princes, except Godfrey, his brother Eustace, and Tancred, and whose zeal and valour, setting aside the short flight of the duke of Normandy from the famine at Antioch, are without reproach.

The count of Flanders reached his home in safety, and was received with the utmost joy by his faithful subjects, and with distinguished honour by the king and princes of France. During the remainder of his life he was an ardent supporter of the claims of the Holy See against his liege lord the Emperor Henry IV. He persecuted the married clergy so violently that the archbishop of Rheims found it necessary to moderate his zeal. The people and all the holy men of the time vied in their praises of the pious count of Flanders. But the death of Robert was inglorious. In the year 1111, the royal troops

marched against Thibaut, the refractory count of Blois; the banner of France was followed by the count of Flanders, but near Meaux they met with a check, and as they were retiring over the bridge on the Marne, Robert's horse fell and trampled on him. He died of the injury on the third day, and was buried in his town of Arras.

Robert of Normandy was less fortunate. On his return through Apulia, he became acquainted with Sibylla, daughter of William, count of Conversana, a maiden of surpassing beauty and high mental endowments; he sought her hand, and his suit was successful. The charms of his wife, and the delights of the climate, detained him an entire year in Apulia. Meantime his brother Henry had obtained possession of England and Normandy. Robert at length prepared to assert his rights, the English nation were mostly in his favour, but he made such delay, and managed his affairs so ill, that he was obliged to resign his claim to the English crown. Unfortunately for him, the Duchess Sibylla, whose wisdom equalled her beauty, and whose prudence corrected his folly, died within a few years, and the Normans, wearied out with his negligence, invited over King Henry. Robert, in the year 1106, fell into the hands of his unnatural brother, who cast him into prison in the castle of Cardiff, and he died after a confinement of thirty years.\*

Edgar Atheling, the faithful companion of Robert, whom he so much resembled, and whose prosperity and adversity he shared, lived to a great age on a moderate pension assigned him by the king of England.

The reader will, doubtless, be curious to learn the subsequent history of the Hermit, the man whose eloquence had roused the warriors of the West to march to the delivery of the Holy Land. Peter, then, in whose character valour was no leading feature, and whose enthusiasm had been cooled by time and suffering, was among those who returned to Europe. He had performed his vow; the tomb of Christ was free, his task was done. The sixteen years which remained of his life were spent in exercises of devotion, in a monastery which he founded at Huy near Liége, and his bones repose at that sacred place.

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\* See our History of England, vol. i. p. 85.

Such, as it has been narrated in the foregoing pages, was the First Crusade; one of the most extraordinary events in the history of the world. We have related it with some degree of minuteness, as it is peculiarly illustrative of the state of manners and opinion at the time, and fully displays the spirit of the age, in which piety the most sincere, and valour the most heroic, were blended with the grossest superstition, and with the most ruthless ferocity. Our future pages will supply abundant instances of this spirit, and teach our readers not to lament that "the age of chivalry is gone."



## KINGS OF JERUSALEM.

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### STATE OF THE NEW KINGDOM.

GODFREY now remained, environed by enemies, with but three hundred knights and two thousand foot-men, all of the crusaders that could be induced to continue in the East. Among these were the gallant Tancred and the faithful Werner of Greis. As the capture of Jerusalem had caused a great sensation at Bagdad as well as at Cairo, and the small number of the remaining Franks must have been well known, it may cause surprise that there was not a general effort of the Moslems to overturn their infant empire. But the religious animosity between the adherents of the rival khaleefehs was too strong to permit of any cordial union; they had also the most exaggerated ideas of the courage, strength, and ferocity of the Franks; and the noble qualities of some of their leaders, particularly of Godfrey and Tancred, had won the admiration and esteem of the Moslem emirs. It was not unnatural that the Saracen governors of Ascalon and other towns should prefer the neighbourhood of such noble knights and valiant warriors to that of the rude and ferocious Turks, and also that the Turkish princes of Aleppo and Damascus would rather see Jerusalem in the hands of the Franks, than in those of the Egyptians.

Small as was the number of the Latin subjects of Godfrey, they soon began to feel the want of provisions. The Saracens, who were numerous in the country, preferred letting their lands lie idle to cultivating them for the Franks, whose insolence soon alienated the affections of the native Christians also, who began secretly to regret their change of masters. The new monarch was often obliged to cross the Jordan at the head of his knights, and seize the herds of the Arabs. Tancred, who had reduced the whole of Galilee, vied in noble qualities with Godfrey;

but the exploits of both were, by the paucity of their forces, confined to the driving of cattle, and the pillaging of open towns and villages.

#### GERHARD D'AVESNES.

THE emir of Arsoof had agreed to pay tribute, and had given hostages; Godfrey had also placed in his hands a knight named Gerhard d'Avesnes, as a pledge of his good faith. The Saracen hostages, however, contrived to make their escape, and the tribute was then refused; Godfrey, therefore, laid siege in the winter to the town with three thousand men. The besieged, when they saw the Christians preparing to attack them, took Gerhard d'Avesnes, and binding him on a beam of timber, set him in the place against which the machines were chiefly directed. The knight in terror loudly called to his brethren to spare him, but Godfrey calmly replied, "Gerhard, if thou wert my own brother, I could not take pity on thee: I cannot keep the people back from the vengeance which they have vowed against this town. It is better that thou shouldst die the death of a martyr and gain eternal life, than that the hostile inhabitants should long continue to cause the destruction of numerous pilgrims."

The knight submitted with pious resignation to his fate, only praying of Godfrey to give his horse and arms to the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre, to obtain their prayers for the good of his soul. The engines now played, the darts flew, and ten of them pierced the body of Gerhard. The defence of the besieged was obstinate; they set fire to a wooden tower, in which were thirty knights, who all perished; and Godfrey found it necessary to raise the siege and return to Jerusalem, where Arnulf directed the people to perform penance and other acts of devotion, to clear themselves from the guilt of the death of Gerhard d'Avesnes.

The following spring (1100), however, the people of Arsoof, weary of the continual annoyance which the Christians gave them, agreed to pay tribute as before. One day Godfrey and his people, to their joy no less than their infinite surprise, beheld entering the town, mounted on a stately horse, and richly attired, that very Gerhard who had, as they thought, perished by their darts at Ar-

soof. But his wounds had not proved mortal; and the emir had had them cured, and now sent him as one of the most acceptable gifts he could offer to his liege at Jerusalem. Godfrey bestowed many rich gifts on Gerhard, to reward his magnanimity and courage.

#### PILGRIMAGE OF BALDWIN AND BOEMOND.

AT Christmas Baldwin and Boemond came to Jerusalem to pay their vows at the tomb of the Redeemer. They were accompanied by the archbishop of Pisa and twenty-six thousand pilgrims, horse and foot, the greater part of whom were lately arrived from Italy. The two princes had met at Paneas, and thence proceeded to the Holy City. As it was the depth of winter, the sufferings of the pilgrims were dreadful. The cold was intense, the rain poured in torrents, no provisions were to be had; the sugar-cane alone, which grew wild about the Jordan, afforded them an agreeable, but a scanty nourishment. Several expired from cold and hunger, and the Arabs fell on and slew such of them as lingered behind the main body. At Tiberias, where Tancred had fixed his residence, they found food and repose, and Godfrey and all his people hastened to welcome them as they approached the Holy City.

Having visited the holy places, and paid their vows, the princes prepared to return home, but, first, in conjunction with Godfrey, they proceeded to appoint a patriarch. Their choice fell on Daimbert, bishop of Pisa, who, perhaps, had gained over Baldwin and Boemond by his presents, or who was, it may be, regarded as the fittest person to fill the important station, Arnulf being generally disliked on account of his immorality. The new patriarch was consecrated by the bishop of Ramla, and Godfrey and Boemond took their territories as fiefs from him, swearing fidelity to God and the patriarch.

Baldwin and Boemond now departed. The toils and dangers of the road were greater than before, but they reached Laodicea in safety, and here they parted, each taking the road to his own dominions.

#### DEATH OF GODFREY.

THOUGH Godfrey, as has been already said, could count but three hundred knights and two thousand serviceable foot-men at Jerusalem, his power was re-

spected by all the surrounding Moslems, and he formed treaties with the Saracen governors of Ascalon, Acre, and Cæsarea, and the Turkish princes of Aleppo and Damascus, by which some gave tribute, and others engaged to allow a free trade with their subjects. The Arab sheikhs also brought presents, and sought the friendship of the redoubted prince of the Franks.

These last could not conceal their amazement when they beheld the vanquisher of both Turks and Saracens sitting on a sack filled with straw, and on the ground. "But why," said Godfrey, "should not the earth, which is the place of rest for all after death, serve the living for the same purpose?"—"Verily," cried they when they heard this, "this man is born to conquer the whole world, and rule over all people."

An Arab sheikh requesting to see a proof of his strength, Godfrey with one blow of his sword cut off the head of a camel. The Arab seeming to attribute this to the keenness of the weapon, and not to the strength of the man, Godfrey took the Arab's own sword, and performed the same feat with it.

The life of this excellent prince was not of long endurance; the climate, and the great exertions which he made, gradually undermined his constitution; and as he went to Jaffa to receive the son of the doge of Venice, he was attacked by a four-day fever. He had the satisfaction to learn how the whole West rang with his fame, but finding the noise and bustle of a sea-port to be injurious to him, he had himself conveyed to Jerusalem, where, notwithstanding the prayers of the people and the skill of the physicians, he breathed his last on the 18th of July, 1100, after a brief reign of only one year. All the Christians mourned for him during five days, and their grief was shared by the Moslems, who admired in him valour united with piety and the purest sense of justice. Godfrey was interred in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the following epitaph may still be read on his tomb:—"Here lieth the renowned Duke Godfrey of Bouillon, who won all this land to Christianity. May his soul reign with Christ!"\*

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\* Hic jacet inelitus dux Godefridus de Bullon, qui totam istam terram acquisivit cultui Christiano, cujus anima regnet cum Christo. Amen.



## ELECTION OF A KING.

ON his death-bed Godfrey had expressed a desire that his brother Baldwin should be chosen to succeed him; but the patriarch Daimbert, judging that it would be more for his own advantage to have the dignity in the hands of his patron Boemond, and also offended at the refusal of Werner of Greis to put the tower of David into his possession, according to the agreement made with him by the late king, was zealous in the cause of Boemond. Tancred, too, who did not forget the affair at Tarsus, and who had latterly been on ill terms with Godfrey himself, on account of his having promised the investiture of Khaifa, a place to be conquered, to Waldemar Carpinel, and not to himself, was also zealous in the cause of his uncle, and hasted to Jerusalem to concert matters with Daimbert. On the other hand, Arnulf, whose great wealth gave him influence,\* and all the knights attached to the house of Bouillon, were strenuous in the cause of Baldwin.

The Bouillon party sent off messengers to Baldwin, to urge him to come with all speed. Daimbert also despatched his secretary Marcellus, to Antioch, to Boemond, but Marcellus, on coming to Laodicea, was detained there by Count Raymond, who had little friendship for the Norman. Even, however, if Marcellus had reached Antioch, it would have been to no purpose, as Boemond was now a captive in the hands of the Turks.

A Turk, named Kameshteghin,† surnamed Ibn Danishmend, that is, the son of the schoolmaster, such having been the occupation of his father, had made himself by his ability prince of Sebaste. Gabriel, the Armenian prince of Melitene, being hard pressed by the Ibn Danishmend, called on Boemond for aid. The prince of Antioch agreed to give it, but as he was advancing to his relief, he was suddenly fallen on with a superior force by Kameshteghin, and routed, and made a prisoner. Baldwin,

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\* Arnulf had inherited the wealth of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, the brother of William the Conqueror, who had died on the crusade.

† All names in the subsequent narrative in which there occurs a *g* or *gh* are to be regarded as Turkish.

The historians call Ibn Danishmend, Doliman, perhaps to make it accord with Soliman, the name which they call Kilij Arslân.

on hearing of his disaster, hastened from Edessa, and secured both Melitene and Antioch against the designs of the Turk; but he could not effect the liberation of Boemond, whose captivity, however, at this conjuncture, we may fairly suppose, could not have been very disagreeable to him.

#### BALDWIN'S JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM.

BALDWIN, less grieved, as it is said, for the death of his brother, than rejoiced at the prospect of extended dominion, did not hesitate to accept the proffered royalty. Having summoned from Antioch, where he was in the service of Boemond, his nephew, Baldwin du Bourg, he appointed him his successor in the government of Edessa. He then, early in the month of October, set forth at the head of two hundred knights and eight hundred foot-men, and proceeded to Antioch, where he declined the invitation of the people to take the government on him during the captivity of Boemond. From Antioch he sent his wife, servants, and baggage by sea to Jaffa, and took himself the road along the coast, which Godfrey and the pilgrims had travelled. He was hospitably entertained by the emir of Tripolis, from whom he learned that the Turkish princes of Damascus and Emesa were lying in wait for him at the narrow pass between Mount Climax and the sea, on this side of the Nahar-el-Kelb (*Dog's river*). At this pass the mountains run out to the sea, and the only passage is by a narrow path, of from four to six feet in width, cut out of the face of the mountain, and extending for the length of a mile along it. Lofty rocks tower above; beneath, the sea beats the base of the mountain, and one false step might bring destruction to the traveller.

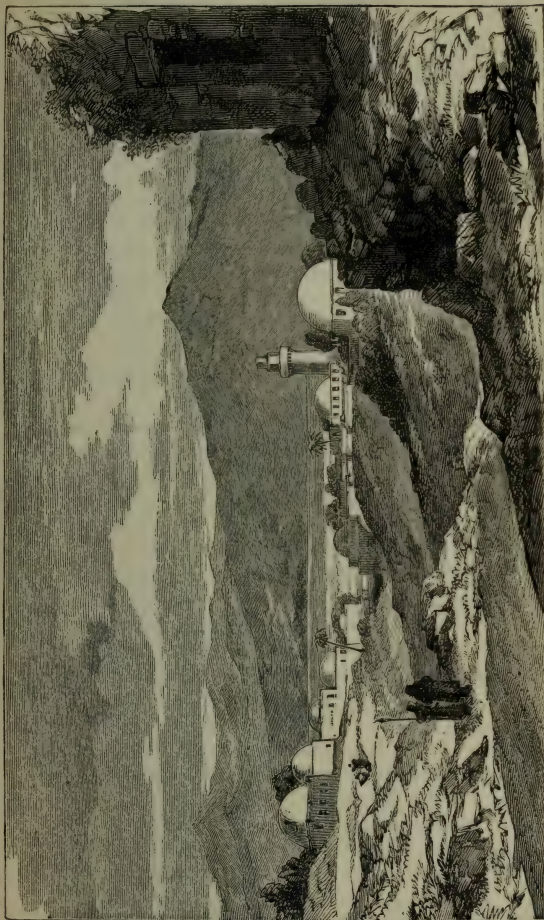
A part of Baldwin's followers now quitted him through fear, but he was himself resolved rather to die than to turn back. On coming to the pass, he found some of the Turks posted in it, others on the rocks above it, while beneath, on the sea, were ships, from on board of which the Turks discharged their arrows at his troops. To win his way by force he saw was impossible, he therefore had recourse to stratagem. At break of day he commenced a retreat, and led his men back to the plain; the

Turks, as he had hoped, pursued, the Christians turned, the Turks were routed and driven over the pass, and Baldwin, collecting his men, urged his way along it with all speed, and safely reached the plain at the other side.

He pursued his march by Bairoot, Sidon, Tyre, and Acre, and came to Khaifa (Caïphas), where the inhabitants brought him out provisions for sale. As this town now belonged to Tancred, Baldwin, for fear of giving offence, did not allow any of his people to enter it. Tancred, who was laying siege to Jaffa, on hearing of the arrival of Baldwin, left it, and returned by a circuitous route to Khaifa; and as Arnulf had at this time forced his rival Daimbert to take refuge on Mount Zion, and renounce all interference in public matters, no opposition existed against Baldwin at Jerusalem. When he reached that city in the month of November, clergy and people, bearing crosses and wax tapers, and singing hymns of joy and thanksgiving, came forth to meet him, and conducted him to the church of the Holy Sepulchre.

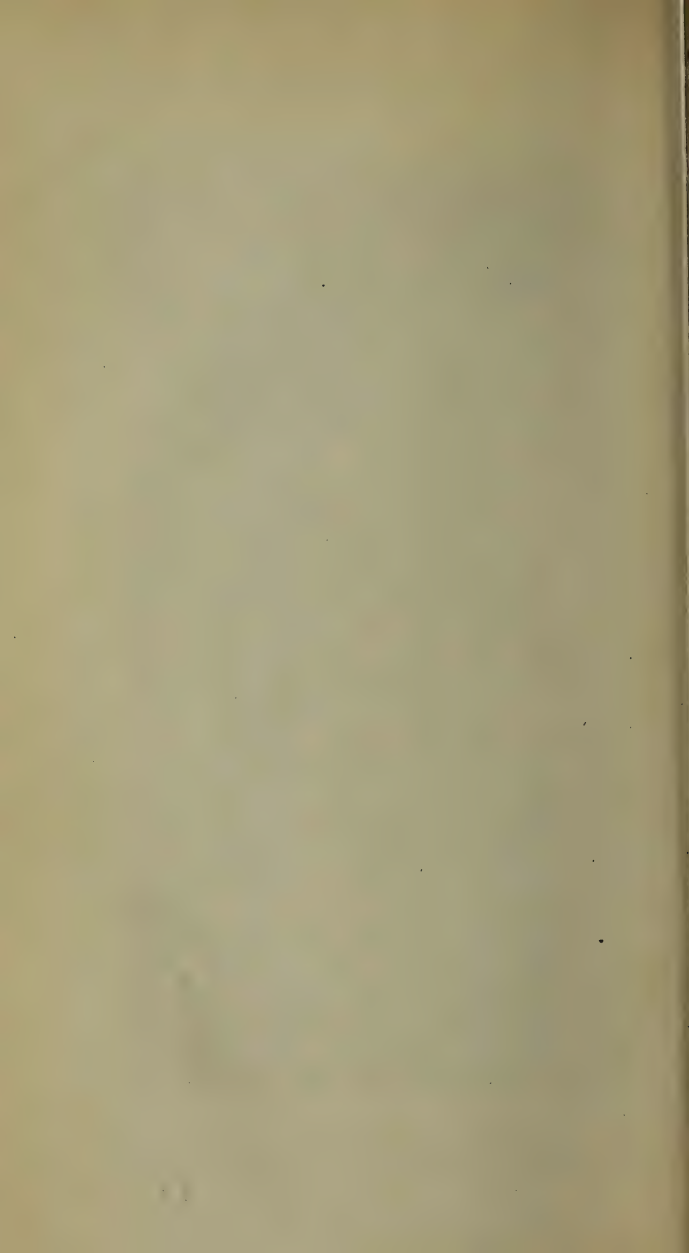
#### BALDWIN'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

IT was judged advisable by Baldwin's most prudent friends that he should, on account of the enmity of the patriarch, quit the city for a short time, and endeavour to perform some action which might raise his character in the eyes of the people. Accordingly, on the seventh day after his arrival, toward the end of November he put himself at the head of one hundred and fifty knights and five hundred foot-men, and appeared before the gates of Ascalon. The Ascalonites came forth to battle, and he was glad to retire from before them, and to turn his arms against the plundering Arabs, who lurked in the caverns between Ramla and Jerusalem. A fire was kindled at the mouth of the robbers' den, and the smoke soon forced two of them to come forth and implore mercy. Baldwin treated them kindly, gave them presents, and then made one of them go back to try and persuade his companions to surrender. While he was away, the Christians cut off the head of him who remained. The other now came out with ten of his comrades, of whom one was sent back into the cave, and the rest put to death. In this manner the robbers, to the number of



The Village of Bethany and the Dead Sea.





two hundred and thirty were decoyed out and slain, and then, by means of smoke, their wives and children were forced to come out and surrender.

Baldwin and his men now directed their course to Hebron. "We passed," says Fulcher of Chartres, Baldwin's chaplain,—“we passed the mountains which are the burial-place of the patriarchs, where gloriously repose the bodies of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Sarah, and Rebecca; we then came into the valley where of old time stood the guilty cities of Sodom and Gomorrah, which God destroyed in his wrath, and in which now is the Lake Asphaltides, whose waters are so bitter, that birds and other animals cannot drink of them, nor fish live in them, whence it is called the Dead Sea. I myself made trial of the bitterness of its waters, for I got down from my mule to taste them, and found them more bitter than hellebore.” Proceeding thence, they came “to a valley abounding in all kinds of fruits, that in which Moses, by the Divine aid, caused a spring of pure water to gush from the side of a dry rock. This fount still runs abundantly, and I, Fulcher, watered my horses in it. We then ascended a high mountain, on which is built a monastery, named St. Aaron, in the spot where God spoke with Moses and Aaron. The sight of all these holy places, which had been hitherto unknown to us, filled us with joy.” Here they stayed for three days, and then departing with their booty reached again the valley of the Dead Sea; and they came by Hebron and Bethlehem to the Holy City, where they arrived three days before Christmas.\*

#### CORONATION OF BALDWIN.

THE patriarch now saw that all further opposition to Baldwin was useless; but the old question about the propriety of wearing a crown of gold in the city where the Saviour had been crowned with thorns, was again agitated. It was however very plausibly argued by Bald-

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\* In this expedition the party, on leaving Hebron, proceeded eastwards to En-gedi (*'Ain Jedi*), and descended by that pass to the western shores of the Dead Sea, along which they went to its southern extremity. They then crossed the ridge named Ma'aleh 'Akrabbim, and entered the long sandy valley (*Wady*) named the 'Arabah, which bounds Edom on the west, and probably continued their route along it to its termination at the head of the Elanitic bay. They must then have taken one of the routes which lead to Mount Sinai, close to which is the Wady Esh-sheikh, which seems to be the fruitful valley of which Fulcher speaks, for it was at Meribah in this Wady that Moses is supposed to have

win's friends, that the crown was set on the head of Christ by way of insult, and not of honour, but that now that his doctrine had conquered so gloriously, the Divine precept acquired all its original force, according to which the king was to be crowned, that he might thereby pledge himself to govern according to law and justice. Moreover, a coronation, it was said, would give the Christians consideration in the eyes of the Infidels.

These arguments were found to be of weight, and on Christmas day Baldwin I. was crowned by the patriarch, and anointed as of old, not in Jerusalem however, but in Bethlehem, the city of David, for thus the dispute had been accommodated.

#### CHARACTER OF BALDWIN I.

**A**MONG the Christian princes none, perhaps, was so fit to be the successor of Godfrey as his brother Baldwin, who equalled him in personal valour, and now was disposed to make his life his model. In person Baldwin was handsome; he was a far larger man than Godfrey; his appearance was dignified and stately; his nose was arched, his beard of a reddish brown, and his upper lip projected a little. Being originally destined for the church, he had received somewhat more of education than was usual among laymen, and though his natural inclination led him to resign the preferments which he held, and take to war and temporal occupations, he retained a gravity of demeanour and language, which gave him the appearance of a prelate rather than of a prince. The great defect of his character was his want of fidelity to his consorts; but he was never guilty of offering violence to any female, and he concealed his weakness as much as possible. His first wife, who was an Englishwoman, named Godehild, having died on the way, at Marasia, he espoused the daughter of an Armenian prince, named Tafrok, the lord of some castles on Mount Taurus. Baldwin finally adopted, with great facility, the manners and customs of the East.

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brought water from the rock. The convent on Sinai however is of the Transfiguration, not of St. Aaron. Perhaps Er-rahah, the name of the plain before the mountain, may have misled Fulcher. There was also another convent in that vicinity named Er-erbein. It is however not absolutely certain from Fulcher's narrative that they went so far as Mount Sinai, as it might have been only to Mount Hor and 'Ain Weibeh or Kadesh.

## MIRACLE OF THE LIGHTING OF THE LAMPS.

FORTUNATELY for the peace of the country, Tancred, who still refused to yield obedience to Baldwin, was invited to take on him the government of Antioch during the captivity of his uncle. He gladly complied with the call, and he surrendered Tiberias and Khaifa to Baldwin, on condition of his being re-invested with them should he return from Antioch within a year and three months. The departure of Tancred was lamented by perhaps all but the king.

A Genoese fleet, having on board pilgrims and a papal legate, happened to arrive at this time at Laodicea. At the invitation of the king, they sailed to Jaffa, in order to come and partake of the Easter solemnities at Jerusalem. The festival however commenced with grief and mourning, instead of the usual joy and jubilee. The cause was as follows :

On the eve of Easter (1101), the pilgrims of all nations were, according to custom, assembled in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, in expectation of the usual miracle of the lighting of the lamps by fire from heaven. From the third hour, the Greek and Latin clergy alternately performed the high-mass, and at the ninth hour, when a Greek priest had thrice cried "*Kyrie Eleïson*," and all the people had responded, the patriarch drew forth the keys, and opened the Holy Sepulchre, but the lamp within emitted no flame. In vain were prayers and supplications made to Heaven ; the darkness still remained. Some went to the Mount of Olives, where it sometimes happened that the miracle occurred instead of at the Sepulchre, but no light was there. The people retired, some filled with grief, others consoling themselves with the reflection that the miracle which had been necessary to sustain the hopes of the people while the Holy City was subject to the Infidels, was now withdrawn as being no longer needed.

During the night, the church remained in total darkness ; the morning came, and still there was no appearance of the miracle. The patriarch, to console the people, assured them that if the miracle had ceased, it was for wise reasons, but advised a procession as the means of obtaining its renewal. Then patriarch and clergy, king



and people of the Latin church, compassed, with naked feet, and praying aloud, the temple of the Lord, while the Greeks and Syrians tore their hair and gashed their cheeks as they went round and round the Holy Sepulchre. As the Latins were returning, they all of a sudden beheld the windows of the church emitting a ruddy light. The patriarch opened the Sepulchre, saw the miracle, and fell on his knees in prayer; then kindling a light at the holy lamp he returned with it into the church, and the people, in a tumult of joy, pressed forward to light, according to custom, their tapers at the sacred flame. As the king and his nobles sat at meat in his dwelling near the Temple, one brought word that two of the lamps of that sacred fane had also been lighted from heaven. Some ran thither to view the wonder, and were witnesses to the lamps all becoming lighted in succession. The joy of the people now knew no bounds, for a superabundant portion of the Divine favour seemed thus to have been awarded to the faithful.\*

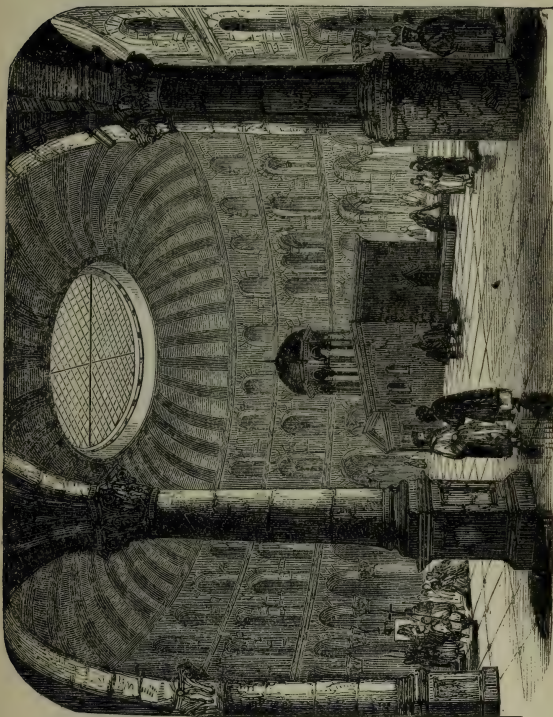
#### DEFEAT OF THE EGYPTIANS.

**B**ALDWIN having agreed with the Genoese and Pisans to give them a third of the booty and a fourth of each town he should conquer by their aid, attacked Arsoof, the truce with that place being now expired. The people surrendered on condition of safe conduct to Ascalon; those of Cæsarea refusing all conditions, the town was taken by storm, and a massacre, similar to that at Jerusalem, took place, for as the patriarch proved to the Saracens, in reply to their charges of cruelty and violence, they held unrighteously the property of St. Peter.

His Italian allies now sailed home, and King Baldwin found himself reduced to a state of great feebleness. An Egyptian army of eleven thousand horse and twenty thousand foot was at this time entered into his realm, and with every effort, and after knighting all the esquires, he could

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\* This miracle, if it is to be called such, is, we believe, performed at the present day. According, however, to the Syrian historian Abou-'l-Faraj, an enemy of the Christians once told the khaleefeh Hakem that it was all a trick; that the iron wire by which the lamp hung was rubbed with balsam-oil, so that even though the Moslem governor of the city should seal the door of the Holy Sepulchre, the upper end of the wire could be kindled out on the roof, and the flame thus be communicated to the lamp. The same explanation will, we apprehend, hold good at present.



Church of the Holy Sepulchre.



muster no more than two hundred and sixty knights and nine hundred foot-men. Undismayed, the king led his little army to the encounter of such fearful odds. The True Cross, which was in some sort to the crusaders what the ark of the covenant had been to Israel of old, was borne before them by the pious abbot Gerhard, and loud and joyful was the cry of "*God help!*" which rose when they came in view of the foe.

Baldwin made six divisions of his little army; the station of the holy cross was with the fourth. The first divisions were cut to pieces, and the survivors fled to Jaffa, declaring that all was lost, and the king was dead. Baldwin was nearly in despair, when Gerhard assuring him that this was a judgment on him for his unholy strife with the patriarch, he fell on his knees before the cross, and vowed a reconciliation. Then Gerhard gave him absolution and the sacrament, and, filled with renewed courage, the king sprang to horse, and waving his lance with its white pennon, and followed by all his knights but six, who remained with the holy cross, he charged the Infidels. At every stroke of sword or lance a Saracen fell, the purple surcoat of the king was soon dripping with the blood of the slain, and those who had lately been confident of victory now fled in confusion to Ascalon, leaving five thousand of their number dead on the plain. After this victory, which was gained on the 8th of September, military operations were suspended till the ensuing spring.

#### NEW ARMIES OF PILGRIMS.

THE tales of victory brought home by the pilgrims excited the most extravagant expectations in the minds of their auditors, and nothing was deemed capable of resisting European valour. The pope called upon all who had taken the cross to perform their vow, the emperor Henry IV. had the crusade preached, in order to gain favour with the clergy and laity. Many princes now resolved to visit in person the new empire founded in the East.

Three great armies assembled, the first in Italy under the archbishop of Milan, and the two counts of Blandrate: the second in France under Hugh the Great and Stephen of Blois, whom shame and remorse urged to perform their



vow, William duke of Guienne and count of Poitou, who mortgaged his territory to William Rufus of England to procure funds, the count of Nevers, the duke of Burgundy, the bishops of Laon and Soissons; the third in Germany, under the bishop of Saltzburg, the aged duke Welf of Bavaria, Conrad the master of the horse to the emperor, and many other knights and nobles. Ida also, the margravine of Austria, declared her resolution to share the toils and dangers of the way, and pay her vows at the tomb of Christ. Vast numbers of women of all ranks accompanied all these armies; nay, in that of the duke of Guienne, who was inferior to none in valour, but united to it the qualities of a troubadour and glee-man, there appeared whole troops of young women.

The Italian pilgrims were the first to arrive at Constantinople. They set out early in the spring, and took their way through Carinthia, Hungary, and Bulgaria. Though the excesses committed by them were great, the emperor gave them a kind reception, and the most prudent and friendly advice respecting their future progress. While they abode at Constantinople, Conrad, and the count of Blois, and the duke of Burgundy, arrived; and at Whitsuntide they all passed over, and encamped at Nicomedia.

It was the advice of the emperor, of Raymond of Toulouse, who was now at the imperial court, of Stephen of Blois, and all the men of prudence, that the pilgrims should take the road trodden by their predecessors. But the archbishop of Milan, who had with him the arm of St. Ambrose, assuring the pilgrims that it was necessary to crush the head of the serpent, they resolved to direct their march to Bagdad, and thence to advance to the conquest of Khorassan! Finding all remonstrance vain, the French, sooner than seem to be outdone in zeal by the Lombards, agreed to accompany them. The emperor gave them five hundred Turcopoles, commanded by an officer named Tzitas, to serve them for guides.

After a march of three weeks the pilgrims reached the city of Angora\* (Ancyra), which they took, and put the

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\* It was on the plain in which Angora lies, that Cyrus gave Cræsus his decisive overthrow, and on the same plain Týmûr defeated and made prisoner sultan Bajazet.

garrison to the sword. Here becoming aware of their total ignorance of the country, the people, their language, and their manners, they sent to request the emperor to prevail on the count of Toulouse to come with the holy lance, and be their leader. Raymond, though very unwillingly, undertook the charge, and they crossed the river Halys, and came to a town, which they burned, and slaughtered its inhabitants, although they were Christians, and had come forth, headed by their clergy, to meet and welcome them. They now turned northward, directing their course toward Amasia and the Euxine sea.

The famine, and other miseries, the usual attendants of a pilgrim-army, were experienced in their most appalling forms; and to add to their calamities, the Turks, who had laid waste the whole country round, now began to show their clouds of light cavalry. Ibn Danishmend, Kilij Arslân, and the other princes, had united their forces for the destruction of the common enemy, and their attacks became incessant. Nothing but a victory could save the pilgrims from death by famine; it was therefore resolved to give battle to the foe.

The following morning, soon as the first beams of light had streaked the horizon, the archbishop of Milan went through the camp, announcing to the people that on that day would be a decisive battle; he exhorted them to confess their sins, and promised the forgiveness of them to all who should do so in obedience to his words. When they were marching out to battle, he stood and blessed them with the arm of St. Ambrose and the holy lance. The princes marshalled their troops; the post of honour was claimed and obtained by the Lombard chivalry. The fight began, the Turks combated in their usual Parthian manner, and confused the Lombards, who were unaccustomed to that mode of warfare. Wearied with their efforts, they turned and retreated to the camp, the count of Blandrate, with the banner of the army, leading the way. Conrad and his Germans then advanced, and fought till noon, when they also retired; the Burgundians succeeded, and their place was taken by the count of Blois and his French, who maintained the conflict till the evening. Meantime, in another part of the field, count Raymond and his Provençals and Turcoples were hard pressed by

the enemy; the former were all cut to pieces, and the latter, when they had exhausted their arrows, turned and fled to the camp. Raymond was now left with but ten knights, and he ascended a steep rock, resolved to sell his life dearly. Stephen of Blois, and Conrad, when they missed him, in the evening, set out with two hundred helmets in search of him, and found him still engaged with the Turks, thirty of whom had been slain. They brought him in safety to the camp.

During the night, Count Raymond, who saw, as he thought, destruction awaiting the Christian army, retired with his Turcoples to a fortress belonging to the Greeks. The other leaders, when they discovered his flight, were filled with terror, and with one accord resolved to fly to Sinope without delay. They all departed that very night, and in such haste and confusion, that the bishop of Milan left behind him the arm of St. Ambrose, and the vestments of that holy man, which were adorned with gold and precious stones of inestimable value; nay, the French and Italians, in their unmanly terror, deserted the numerous females who had accompanied their pilgrimage, and wealth and everything was abandoned by these recreant knights.

The Turks, who were preparing to retire to a greater distance, learned with amazement from their scouts the flight of the Christians. Forthwith the trumpets and clari-ions sounded in their camp, and at break of day they appeared before the tents of the crusaders. None were there to oppose; they burst in, and found only women, children, and feeble persons, among whom were more than a thousand ladies of France and Italy, the wives and daughters of knights and nobles. The aged and the ugly were slaughtered without mercy; the young and handsome were reserved to be led away captives, says the historian, to Khorassan, "which is so surrounded by mountains and marshes, that once one is there, it is hard to get out of it without the leave of the Turks, as for a flock of sheep to get out of their fold." The whole camp was filled with the cries and lamentations of these unhappy females, who were horror-stricken at the wild and furious aspect of their captors, who, contrary to the European mode, "had their heads shaven all round, four long tresses alone falling in disorder on their necks; their beards thick and

in disorder, and their garments making them like to unclean infernal spirits." The Turks now pursued the fugitives, with whom they speedily came up, and "they mowed them down with the sword as the mower with the scythe mows down the ripened corn." The young alone were spared, and led away captive. For miles the country was strewn with gold and silver, silken garments, and robes furred with ermine and sable, which the fugitives had cast away in their haste. After undergoing great sufferings, the principle leaders reached Constantinople, where the emperor gave them the kindest reception. They remained there during the autumn and winter, and the bishop of Milan, the chief cause of their calamities, died in that city.

The count of Nevers, who arrived with fifteen thousand pilgrims shortly after the departure of the Lombards, having vainly essayed to overtake them, turned to the south, and laid siege to Iconium. Failing in his attempt, he took the road to Melitene, and marched for a town named Reclei, on the river Halys. Suddenly the pilgrims found themselves environed by the Turks, in a valley where the springs had been all destroyed. During three days they bore all the torments of thirst, of which more than three hundred of them died; on the fourth, the Turks poured down like a torrent from the hills, and slaughtered them like game enclosed within the toils. Not more than seven hundred escaped; many noble ladies and much valuable property became the prey of the victors. The count of Nevers escaped to Germanicopolis, where he hired twelve Turcoples to escort him to Antioch, in order that he might go and perform his vows. These men conducted him and his companions into a desert, retired region, where they stripped them of all they had, and left them naked and defenceless. They however made their way to Antioch, where Tancred displayed toward them the true spirit of chivalry, treating them in the kindest manner, and entertaining them till the following spring.

A similar fate befell the third and largest army, composed of the pilgrims led by the dukes of Bavaria and Guienne, and Hugu the Great. They also took the road to Iconium, and then directed their march to Reclei, to



quench their thirst in the Halys. On reaching that river, they found its opposite bank occupied by the Turks, and as man and beast approached to drink, the arrows flew, and were tinged with blood. A sudden panic seized the pilgrims; they turned and fled in confusion; the Turks pursued, and they were slaughtered as their brethren had been. Not more than one thousand are said to have escaped, of an army which had counted one hundred thousand fighting men. The margravine of Austria was never heard of more; the bishop of Saltzburg was put to death by the Turks; the bishop of Auvergne escaped to the mountains; Hugh the Great, who was wounded by an arrow in the knee, made his way to Tarsus, where he died, being destined never to behold the Holy Land; the duke of Bavaria reached the sea-coast, and thence proceeded to Antioch; the duke of Guienne flung away arms and armour, and, attended by a single esquire, fled to Longinias, in Cilicia. This light-hearted prince, after his return to Europe, made his sufferings the theme of many a lively lay, which he sang to the knights and dames who repaired to the festivities of his ducal mansion.

Such was the fruitless termination of this second great movement of the West, in which perhaps a third of a million of pilgrims left their homes, never to revisit them.

#### INVASION OF THE HOLY LAND.

**I**N the spring (1102), all the pilgrims who were assembled at Antioch prepared to set out for the Holy City. They departed under the guidance of Count Raymond, who had lately arrived. On their way they took Tortosa, where, to their great disappointment, the count determined to stay. They then prudently sent to request that the King would occupy the dangerous pass at the Nahar-el-Kelb, and when they came to that place, they found King Baldwin himself and a good body of knights, who had been several days waiting for them. They stayed at Jaffa till Palm Sunday, as they wished to enter the Holy City on the same day that their Saviour had made his triumphant entry into it. On Easter-day each pilgrim paid his vows, and returned his thanks to Heaven for the mercies which had been vouchsafed him.

Stephen of Burgundy, Conrad, and several of the prin-

cipal pilgrims, resolved to stay some time, and aid Baldwin in the defence of the Holy Land. Stephen of Blois and some others embarked at Jaffa to return home, but they were driven back by a tempest.

At Whitsuntide word was sent by the bishop of Ramla, that a Saracen army had passed the frontiers, and was wasting the country. Baldwin, deeming that the terror of the prelate had magnified a party of plunderers into an army, mounted his favourite steed, named Gazelle, for his fleetness, and set out with a few knights to chastise the freebooters. Stephen of Blois and some of the other Frank nobles and knights mounted such horses as they could get at Jaffa, and followed. When Baldwin came in sight of the Saracens, who were twenty thousand strong, and saw the fearful odds that were against him, his courage fell at once, and after a brief conflict, in which he lost fifty of his knights, he was obliged to take refuge with the remainder in Ramla. During the night an Arab emir came before the walls, and earnestly desired to speak with the king. Having satisfied Baldwin that he might confide in him, he pressed him to quit the town, which would certainly be assailed with an overwhelming force in the morning, and the king, in an unknightly manner, leaving his brave companions to their fate,\* fled to the mountains, under the guidance of the Arab.

This act of the Arab was a return of gratitude, for the generous conduct of the king a short time before. In an expedition beyond the Jordan, Baldwin had made several prisoners, among whom was the wife of this emir. As they were proceeding towards the Jordan, the emir's wife was seized with the pains of labour. The king immediately halted, had her laid in the most convenient place that could be found, and left her with such of her female slaves as she desired, with a supply of food for several days, two skins of water, and two she-camels to give her milk, and he cast his own mantle over her to protect her from the weather. The emir, who was coming with a strong party in the hopes of overtaking the Christians and recovering his wife, was filled with joy when he found

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\* It is said however, and perhaps justly, in excuse of the king, that it was his intention to collect a force at Jerusalem, and come to their relief.

her ; and praised aloud the nobleness of the Franks, and prayed that ere long he might find an occasion of testifying his gratitude. As we have seen, this act of King Baldwin, almost the only one which the Crusades present resembling those of what we term chivalry, met its due reward.

In the morning Ramla was assailed, the walls were speedily broken down, and the tower, to which the knights had retired, was invested. The Saracens had effected a breach in it, and were preparing to apply fire to smother those within, when the knights, invoking the Lord Jesus, sallied forth sword in hand. Many infidels fell beneath their blows, but, overpowered by numbers, they at length sank in death. Among the slain were the duke of Burgundy and count of Blois. Conrad was spared by the Saracens, and led a prisoner to Egypt, and he was afterwards restored to liberty at the request of the emperor Alexius.

Baldwin, meantime, had lost his way in the mountains, and could not reach Jerusalem. Having collected a few companions, he proceeded toward Arsoof, which he reached after a perilous conflict with a party of the Saracens, in which some of his men were slain, and himself wounded. After a stay of seven days, he got on board of a swift-sailing vessel, belonging to an English pirate named Goderich, and running through the Egyptian fleet, entered the port of Jaffa, to the great joy of the people, who believed him dead ; for the Saracens, who were before the town, had shown the head of a knight named Gerbod, asserting it to be that of the king. The Saracens were now encamped about nine miles off, engaged in constructing engines for the assault of the town ; Baldwin had summoned all his vassals to his standard, and, amid the clang of trumpets and horns, a valiant body of knights and foot-men, preceded by the holy cross, issued from the town. The resistance of the Saracens was brief ; their camp and all it contained fell to the victors.

Tancred and Baldwin of Edessa, whom the king had early summoned to his aid, did not reach Arsoof till the month of September, and they then refused to join in the proposed attack on Ascalon, unless the patriarch were reinstated in his dignity. Baldwin assented, provided

Daimbert could clear himself before the legate of the charges made against him. They then put their troops in motion, but the attempt miscarried, and in a synod held at Jerusalem, Daimbert, being unable to answer the charges brought against him by Arnulf and others, was deposed and banished, and his dignity given to Ebromer, a pious priest of the Holy Sepulchre, but a man of the most moderate capacity.

#### STATE OF THE LAND.

THE land now had rest for the winter. It was always with the spring that war commenced; the appearance of an Egyptian army was then as regular as the return of the flowers, and the knights and squires were all summoned by the king to buckle on their armour and take the field. The districts of Ramla and Joppa were the usual scenes of action, but the Saracens often drove back the knights, and, spreading their ravages over the country, appeared before Jerusalem. Then the great bell of the cathedral would ring out, and the patriarch call on the faithful to arm in defence of the king and realm. The holy cross was displayed, and beneath it marched the warriors resolute to conquer or to die.

To us, who live in another age and under another form of religion, it is almost impossible adequately to conceive the degree of courage and enthusiasm with which this relic inspired the brave but ignorant warriors of Jerusalem. Each knight or soldier, as he pressed to his lips the sacred wood on which, as he believed, the Redeemer had expired for the sins of man, felt a flame of zeal and courage kindled within his bosom, which rendered him nearly invincible. If he came off victor in the fight, he had the joyful consciousness of having behaved as a good and faithful servant; if he died, he was assured of an immediate entrance into the joy of his Lord. The instances which the historians relate of a handful of Christians scattering the host of the Infidels almost surpass belief.

The Christians, too, were now becoming acquainted with their enemies' mode of fighting. When engaged with the Turks the knights no longer pursued them in their feigned flight, and having discovered that the first



quarter of the moon was the favourite time of fighting for the Turks, they were particularly on their guard at that season. The fierce mien, the blood-red turbans, and the iron flails of the Æthiopians in the Egyptian armies, had also ceased in a great measure to inspire them with terror.

But as their numbers were so small, it was only in cases of imminent danger that a force of any magnitude could be collected, and the exploits of the king and his knights were chiefly confined to incursions on the territory of Ascalon and other places in the hands of the Saracens, where they laid waste the vineyards, corn-fields, and pastures. At times they crossed the Jordan, and drove the herds of the Arabs, or waylaid and plundered the caravans which passed between Egypt and Syria. In consequence of the dangers both by sea and by land, the concourse of pilgrims was diminishing, and Baldwin now saw the necessity of being master of more than one good port, in order to be able to offer a secure landing-place to future pilgrims.

#### TAKING OF ACRE.

THE king was anxious to reduce the town of Acre, whose harbour was one of the most commodious on the coast. He laid siege to it in the year 1103, but to no purpose, as a fleet of twelve ships laden with men and arms had entered it at the moment it was pressed most hard, and the garrison in a sortie burned his principal wooden tower, and killed his chief engineer. King Baldwin himself, too, received a wound during the siege.

In the winter a Genoese and Pisan fleet of forty sail arrived at Laodicea. Baldwin sent to invite them to join in the siege of Acre, offering them in case of success a third of the tolls, and a church and a quarter of the town to themselves. They accepted this offer, and in the spring of 1104 Acre was invested by land and by sea. On the twentieth day of the siege the governor agreed to surrender, on condition of such of the inhabitants as chose being allowed to retire with their movable property, and the rest being permitted still to dwell in the town, on payment of an annual tax. The king assented, and on the 26th of May the inhabitants commenced their depar-

ture. But the Genoese and Pisans, who, in the true spirit of traders, had in the council opposed all measures of humanity and policy, regardless of the faith of treaties, fell on, plundered, and slew more than four thousand of the Saracens. Want of power alone prevented Baldwin from punishing this perfidious deed as it deserved.

#### DEATH OF COUNT RAYMOND.

COUNT RAYMOND, on his return from Constantinople, had been made a prisoner by Tancred, under pretext of his having betrayed the Lombard pilgrims to the Turks. But that this charge was frivolous is evident, as the count of Blois, and others who had shared in that unfortunate expedition, and were then at Antioch, warmly interested themselves in his favour, and he obtained his liberty on payment of a considerable ransom. Raymond, as we have seen, afterwards made himself master of Tortosa. But the object next his heart seems to have been the acquisition of Tripolis, which would give him the dominion over the whole of that fruitful region between Lebanon and the sea.

Having made the conquest of Jibel, and entered into an agreement with the Genoese who had been at the taking of Acre, he ventured, with but four hundred men, to attempt the subjection of the populous city of Tripolis. He first cut off the water which supplied it, and then erected a castle on a point of Lebanon, which runs close up to it, which he named the Pilgrim's Hill, whence he continually annoyed the town. He even made another voyage to Constantinople, and presented Alexius with his holy lance, in hopes of obtaining aid from him. But soon after his return, as the emir of Tripolis was one day casting fire into the Pilgrim's Hill, Raymond, who was standing on the flat roof of one of the houses, was so affected by the smoke of those which were on fire, that he died a few days after, in the February of the year 1105. The siege was continued by his relative, William of Cerdagne, who took the management of affairs there till Raymond's son Bertram should arrive from Europe.

Such was the end of the rich and powerful count of Toulouse, a man certainly not faultless, but who had sacrificed more and gained less than any prince who had

stayed in the East. Why he should have abandoned so fair a possession as Provence, where he enjoyed all the advantages of independent sovereignty, for the chance of a dubious dominion in Syria, has to us always appeared nearly inexplicable. Possibly his jealousy of Boemond was the secret cause.

#### LIBERATION OF BOEMOND.

THE daughter of Ibn Danishmend is said to have been favourably disposed toward Christianity,\* and by her means Boemond and his captor came to an agreement, by which the former was to have his liberty on payment of a hundred thousand byzants, and an alliance, offensive and defensive, to be formed between them. This treaty gave great offence to the other Turkish princes, but Ibn Danishmend adhered faithfully to his engagements.

Boemond, on arriving at Antioch in May, 1104, expressed himself greatly pleased with the manner in which Tancred had conducted himself during his captivity. But a dispute was near taking place, as Tancred maintained that he had a right to retain all his conquests made from the Greeks during that time. He, however, gave them up to his uncle, and the harmony between them remained unbroken.

The conquests of Tancred had been the towns of Adana, Mamistra, Tarsus, and Laodicea. To gain the last he had recourse to the following curious stratagem:—

In his camp before the town he set up a tent of enormous size, supported by a large pine-tree. The sight of this tent excited no suspicion in the minds of the Laodiceans, who only thought that the Franks were emulating the pomp of the East. Within this tent Tancred and a good number of his knights, mounted and armed, early one morning, took their station; the remainder went out as it were to forage; perfect stillness reigned in the camp, as if all there were fast asleep. The Laodiceans, suspecting no danger, came out of the town, and spread themselves over the country. In the midst of their security Tancred and his knights issued from the tent, got

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\* Ordericus Vitalis says that she accompanied Boemond to Antioch, and married his nephew Roger.

between them and the gate, slew several, and captured the remainder. The town immediately capitulated.

Tancred had also been very successful against the Turks. He frequently chastised them for their incursions into his territory, and obtained large sums of money as ransom for those who fell into his hands.

#### CAPTIVITY OF BALDWIN AND JOSCELIN.

**B**ALDWIN DU BOURG, when made Count of Edessa, judged it prudent to have the aid of some able man in a state environed with enemies. He therefore committed to his relative, Joscelin de Courtenay, the government of Ravendan, Tellbasher, and all the places this side of the Euphrates except Samosata.

The Turks were now becoming more united among themselves. The strife between the brothers Mohammed and Burkeiaruk, the heads of the house of Seljuk, terminated in the year 1104, by the death of the latter, whose son was also obliged to yield to the superior power of his uncle. Kerboga had been succeeded in Mosul by an emir named Jekermish; and Socman, the son of Orthok, had become once more a powerful chief. At the impulse, as it would appear, of sultan Mohammed, these chiefs collected a large force of Turkish horse, and advanced against Edessa. Baldwin instantly sent intelligence to Boemond, imploring him to come to his aid, and that prince and Tancred set forth without delay at the head of three thousand horse and seven thousand foot. At Harran they were joined by Baldwin and Joscelin, the ex-patriarch Daimbert, and Bernhard the patriarch of Antioch, and a large number of the clergy were in the camp.

Siege was laid to the town of Harran, which at once surrendered; but while Baldwin and Boemond were disputing about the future possession of it, an Arab came with tidings of the approach of the Turkish host. They instantly broke up, and marched to the river Chabor, and thence to Raccah, on the river Balikh, where they took up a favourable position. Early next morning, just as they had, as was usual on the eve of a battle, confessed their sins, ended all quarrels, and been blessed by the clergy, they beheld the numerous Turkish cavalry moving



toward them, with a clangor of trumpets which filled every Christian heart with dismay. Boemond took his station on the right wing; Baldwin his on the left; Tancred commanded in the centre. Boemond and Tancred were victorious on their side, and they vigorously pursued the flying Turks; but Baldwin and Joscelin, who were a mile distant from them, as they were engaged with those who were opposed to them, were fallen on by a large body of Turks who were in ambush, and who broke forth with such a din of horns and trumpets, that the Christians turned and fled to Edessa, leaving Baldwin and Joscelin captives in the hands of the enemy. Tancred endeavoured to achieve their deliverance, but his efforts were unavailing.

During the night, Boemond and Tancred were abandoned by their infantry, who fled away in terror of the Turks. In the morning they and their knights set forth for Edessa. Their march was toilsome and dangerous; the roads had been cut up by the heavy rain which had fallen, and they were in momentary expectation of being pursued and slaughtered by the Turks. But the Turks never thought of improving a victory; they sat carousing in their camp, and the Christians arrived safely at Edessa. Often did the knights afterwards laugh as they talked over this adventure, and called to mind the terror which several of their companions had shown when they thought the Turks were close upon them, flinging away their gold, their silver, and their clothes. Tancred's friends, who had no great affection for the patriarch Bernhard, used to assert that, in the anguish of his soul, he begged and implored that some good Christian would, for God's sake, cut off the draggled tail of his mule, that he might go the faster unencumbered with its weight; and that when a knight had done him this service, he, in the joy of his heart, bestowed on him the absolution of his sins.

The people of Edessa besought Tancred to undertake the government and defence of their town during the captivity of their prince. He yielded a ready consent, and prepared to receive the Turks, who did not make their appearance till eight days afterwards, when the view of their numerous cavalry, and the sound of their military music, made the hearts of the Edessenes to tremble,

Tancred's exhortations however revived their courage, and under his guidance they issued forth one night in arms, and fell on the camp of the sleeping foe. The Turks, unable to mount their horses, made but a feeble resistance, and fled, leaving their camp and a large booty to the victors. Among the captives was a Turkish lady of high rank, in exchange for whom Jekermish offered to give the count of Edessa; but Tancred, whose foible was the love of sway, protracted the negotiations under one pretext or another, and Baldwin still remained a captive.

#### DEPARTURE OF BOEMOND.

THE Greeks had now recovered nearly the whole of Cilicia from the enfeebled prince of Antioch, and Rodvan of Aleppo had also driven the Franks out of his territory. Boemond saw clearly that his principality would come to nought without aid from Europe, and he resolved to go himself in quest of it. He also hoped to be able to gratify his revenge on Alexius, and perhaps accomplish the overthrow of the Greek empire, which had always been the object next his heart, for he had never shared in the enthusiasm which animated the other crusaders.

He summoned his nephew Tancred to Antioch, and there, in a solemn assembly of the knights and clergy in the church of St. Peter, committed to him the care of his principality, announcing his resolution to visit Europe in person, and solicit the aid of its princes against the Turks, the Saracens, and the perfidious emperor of the Greeks. Tancred besought him not to leave the country in its present perilous state, and proffered to go himself, and sue for aid at the court of every Catholic prince, binding himself by oath not to taste wine or lie two nights under the same roof until he had accomplished his mission. Boemond's resolution, however, was not to be changed; he added that he had during his captivity made a vow to visit the tomb of St. Leonard, and taking his gold, silver, and jewels, and accompanied by the ex-patriarch Daimbert, he went down to St. Simeon and got on shipboard toward the end of the year 1104.

In order to elude the vigilance of the Greeks, Boemond had recourse to one of those stratagems for which the Normans of those days were so noted. He caused a re-

port to be spread that he was dead, and had a coffin put on board, in which he used to place himself on coming near any of the Greek possessions, and his attendants on such occasions always recommenced their lamentations for their departed master. The Princess Anna adds, that, to make the deception more complete, the coffin also contained the putrid remains of a cock, and she expresses her amazement at the Norman's endurance of this "siege of his nose." When landed in Corfu, he deemed concealment no longer necessary, and proudly bade the Greek governor of the island to tell his master that Boemond was still alive, and would never rest till he had won from him his empire.

#### BOEMOND IN EUROPE.

**B**OEMOND landed in Apulia, and went through Italy, exciting the nobles and people against the Turks and Greeks alike. Accompanied by the bishop of Signi, the papal legate, he proceeded to France, where, as one of the most renowned heroes of the crusades, he was received with every demonstration of respect, and his eloquence, his personal appearance, and his rich gifts to the various shrines, won him all hearts. King Philip I. even gave him in marriage his eldest daughter Constance, who had been divorced on the plea of consanguinity from Hugh of Champagne, her first husband; and her younger sister Cecilia was sent to Antioch, as the bride of the gallant Tancred.

During the marriage-festival, which took place at Chartres, Boemond mounted the pulpit in the cathedral, and in an eloquent harangue, pictured the ferocity of the Turks and the base treachery of the Greeks; dwelt on the merit, in the sight of Heaven, of war against the enemies of Christ; presented an attractive view of the wealth to be acquired by victory over the unwarlike Greeks, and of the splendid settlements that might be won in Greece and in Asia. His call to such a war sounded in the ears of the assembled knights like the invitation to a sumptuous banquet, and all were eager to assume the cross. At the council of the church, which was held in Poitou, the eloquence of Boemond was equally effective, and it was backed by that of Duke William, the truba-

dour, who had been on the crusade, whose miserable failure was so unjustly ascribed to the Emperor Alexius. Boemond went through all France, exciting admiration and enthusiasm; nobles pressed him to hold their children over the baptismal font, and named them after him, and hence the name of Boemond, which his father had given him in jest after some Giant of Romance, became a common appellation in the West.

Alexius meantime, though beset by war and conspiracy, did not neglect the preparation of defence against Boemond. He wrote letters to Italy, justifying himself; and several knights whom he had redeemed from Egyptian captivity, loudly proclaimed his worth through Europe. He made an alliance with the Venetians, and sent a fleet and army to guard the coast of Dalmatia.

#### BOEMOND IN GREECE.

AT length Boemond's preparation were all completed, and in the month of October, 1108, he embarked with thirty-three thousand men, horse and foot, on board of two hundred vessels of all sizes, at Brundisium, and landed without opposition at Aulon. A courier hastened with the tidings to Constantinople, and meeting the emperor as he was returning from hunting, fell breathless at his feet, crying, "Boemond is landed!" All were struck dumb with terror. Alexius retained his composure, at least externally, and said, "Let us first have something to eat, and then we will consider about Boemond."

The Norman prince laid siege to Dyrrachium; he burned all his transports, that his soldiers might have no thoughts of retiring, and that he might not weaken his army by guarding them. All the modes of attack then in use were employed against the town, which was gallantly defended by Alexius, a nephew of the emperor. The wooden towers of the besiegers were burned, their mines countermined. The sea was closely watched by the Greek and Venetian fleets, so that they could get no supplies; the passes of the mountains were guarded by the light troops of the emperor, who constantly hovered about their camp, and the scarcity soon became very great, the only food to be obtained being millet in small quantities.



Boemond's difficulties were now increased by an artifice of the emperor. He wrote letters to Boemond's own brother Hugo, to Robert of Montfort, and other Frank leaders, as if in answer to letters which he had received from them, and these he had conveyed to Boemond by a pretended deserter. Boemond was thrown into great perplexity. To punish men of their importance was impossible, to censure them was dangerous, and after all it might be only a trick of Alexius. He sent for those chiefs, showed them the letters, and assuring them that he had no suspicion of their fidelity to the common cause, continued them in all their former charges and dignities. All were won by this magnanimous conduct; some successes were gained over the Greeks, but Alexius used the advantages of the ground so well, that they led to nothing decisive. Many of the crusaders now became weary of this kind of war, and the opinion was widely spread among them that the whole enterprise was impious and against their vows, and only served to gratify the selfishness and cupidity of Boemond. This chief, therefore, prudently signified to Alexius his desire of an accommodation.

According to the desire for peace expressed by Boemond, deputies came from the emperor to his camp (1109). It was part of their instructions to ascertain the state of his army, but this the wily Norman prevented by advancing to meet them, and having the interview without the camp. After the usual course of diplomatic fencing, it was arranged that Boemond should visit the emperor, on hostages of high rank being sent for his security. Suddenly he demanded that Alexius should say nothing of former engagements, treat him as an independent prince, send his kinsmen to meet him, give him his hand, assign him a place on the upper side of his throne, stand up to receive him, and not require him to bend either his head or knee. The Greeks, who placed the very essence of royalty and power in ceremonial, loudly exclaimed against these unheard-of demands. At length Count Hugo, weary of the wordy war, cried out, "We have not tried a battle yet; this will bring us to an end sooner than words."

The ambassadors, in terror, conceded all the points excepting that of the standing-up in the emperor, in which

Boemond gave way to them. At the interview with the emperor, Boemond haughtily rejected most of the demands made by Alexius, and was demanding an escort to return to his camp, when the Cæsar Bryennius, the husband of the Princess Anna, interposed his good offices, and a treaty was agreed on, of which the substance was as follows:—

Boemond was to hold for life, but without remainder to his heirs, Antioch and its territory, but not Laodicea, Jibel, Antaradus, or the Cilician towns; and he was, by fair means or by force, to make Tancred take the oath of fealty to the emperor for his possessions. Both were to perform all the offices of vassalage, and to serve the emperor in war. They were also not to become the vassals of any other lord. Should Boemond conquer any lands which had belonged to the Greek empire, he was to surrender them to the emperor, and to hold any other conquests as fiefs of the empire. Alexius was to nominate the patriarch of Antioch, who was to be of the Greek church. The emperor, on his side, engaged to pay Boemond annually two hundred talents of gold, to give the most perfect security to pilgrims on their passage, and to make good any losses which they might experience.

This treaty was ratified with the greatest solemnity. The emperor, his son John, and Boemond, swore to its observance on the holy lance and the cross and nails by which our Lord had suffered. Twelve nobles swore with the emperor, twelve prelates and knights with Boemond. The knights affixed their marks to the instrument, after which the bishop of Amalfi wrote their names. Boemond then received a deed of investiture, bearing a golden bull and the red sign-manual of the emperor, and he was honoured with the title of Sebastos (*Augustus*) and with several costly gifts.

In this treaty the advantages seem to be nearly all on the side of the emperor, but it is impossible to say how affairs might have gone had the enterprising Boemond returned to Syria. He died six months after, in the year 1110, in Apulia, as he was preparing to lead a large force to the East, and lies buried at Canosa. Boemond left but one child, an infant of his own name, who succeeded him in the principality of Antioch.

## GOVERNMENT OF TANCRED.

AFTER the departure of Boemond, Tancred remained without either money or men, and had to defend the states of Antioch and Edessa against the Turkish princes. He set in himself an example of endurance to his knights and people, renouncing all indulgences, even to the use of wine. By a gentle compulsion, he induced a hundred of the principal citizens of Antioch to lend him each one thousand pieces of gold, and within forty days after the departure of Boemond he was able to place himself at the head of an army.

His first operations were against the territory of Aleppo. As he was besieging Artasia, Rodvan came to its relief with ten thousand horse and twenty thousand foot. A stony plain extended between the two armies. Tancred allowed the Turks to cross it, and become the assaiants; but the nature of the ground behind not allowing them to fight in their usual manner, they soon flung away their bows and quivers, and fled, some even dismounting to cross the plain more easily. The infantry offered a more obstinate resistance, but they too were routed, and Tancred now ravaged the whole territory of Aleppo without opposition.

Tancred was equally successful against the Greeks. Alexius, when he heard of the preparations of Boemond, recalled his two best generals, Cantacuzene and Monastres, from the East; their successors had but a small force left with them, and Aspietes, to whom Cilicia was confided, spent his days and nights in revelry and indulgence, and was consequently no match for the active and vigilant Tancred, into whose hands the towns fell one after another. When, in pursuance of the treaty made with Boemond, envoys came requiring the surrender of all these places, Tancred laughed them to scorn, calling the Greeks the feeblest and most miserable of all living creatures. Unable to punish this arrogance themselves, the Greeks betook them to the other Latin princes of the East, who, from various causes, were ill-disposed toward the Norman.

## LIBERATION OF BALDWIN AND JOSCELIN.

THE brave Jekermish of Mosul happening to fall under the displeasure of Sultan Mohammed, Javali Ben

Sacavoo was sent to take his place. Jekermish refused obedience, and he lost his life in battle against Javali. The people of Mosul proclaimed Zenghi, the son of Jekermish, a boy of only eleven years; but as they were unable to resist the forces of the sultan, they called Kilij Arslân to their aid. Javali was joined by Rodvan, and Kilij Arslân was defeated. As he fled, he found his death in the waters of the river Chabor. The people of Mosul now submitted, but Javali, in his turn, losing the sultan's favour, the government was conferred on a person named Mowdad. Javali, like his predecessor, prepared to resist, and he offered his two Frank captives their liberty if they would pay him a good ransom, release their Turkish prisoners, and assist him against his rival. Baldwin agreed to give one hundred thousand byzants for his own ransom, and Joscelin remained as a hostage till he should have procured that sum. Meanwhile Mosul had opened her gates to Mowdad, and Javali, seeing that he had but little chance of success, was anxious to get the money: he therefore released Joscelin, and sent him to urge Baldwin to speed. So faithfully did Joscelin perform his engagement, that he condescended to implore in person all the towns and all pilgrims, both great and small, to contribute; and having collected the necessary sum, he sent it honourably to Javali.

Tancred, in violation of his solemn engagement, refused to give back his territory to Baldwin. He was at last induced to yield, but they were soon in arms against each other; Baldwin was defeated, and forced to take refuge in the castle of Dalluk, whence Joscelin went to seek aid from Javali. Tancred on his side called on Rodvan. Turks and Christians stood in array against Turks and Christians. Tancred lost five hundred men, but fortune eventually proved adverse to Joscelin. The more pious knights, however, were scandalized at these civil dissensions and alliances with the Infidels, and they never rested till they had brought about a reconciliation.

#### ARRIVAL OF BERTRAM, AND TAKING OF TRIPOLIS.

**A**BOUT this time, (1109,) Bertram, the son of Count Raymond, arrived in Syria. He entered the harbour of St. Simeon with a fleet of seventy sail of Pisan and



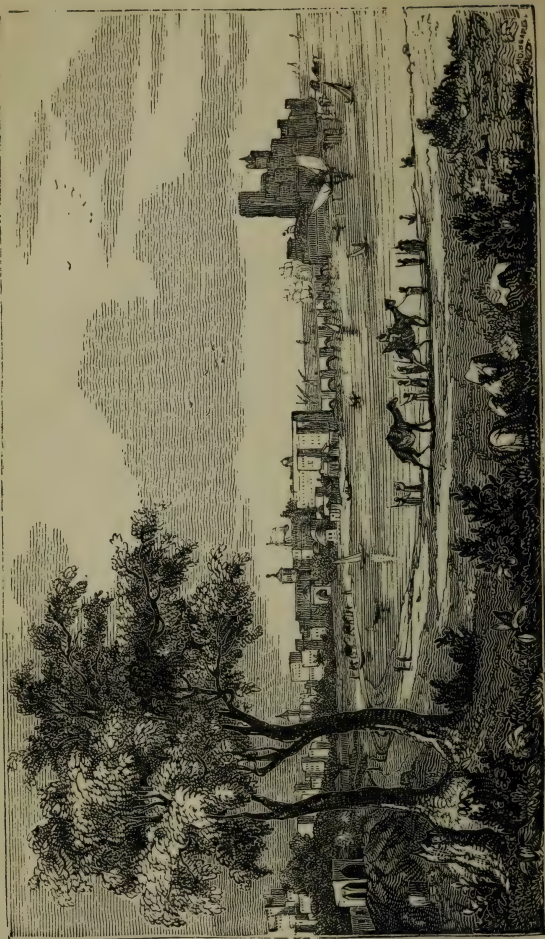
Genoese vessels. He met a hospitable reception from Tancred, but on his claiming the part of Antioch which had been taken by his father, and refusing in return to aid Tancred against the Greeks in Cilicia, the Norman bade him depart without loss of time, lest a worse thing should befall him, and issued orders that none should supply him with provisions.

Bertram thence went to Tortosa, where he was kindly received by William of Cerdagne, from whom he demanded Emesa and the Pilgrim's Mount. William refused, and he sent to Tancred, offering to become his vassal, if he would aid him against this unjust invader of rights. The day was appointed in which they should unite their forces, and attack Bertram in Tortosa, but he got timely information of their designs, and set out against Tripolis; he sent to inform the king of the league of Tancred and William, and meantime took Byblum with the aid of the Genoese.

King Baldwin was most anxious to put an end to these feuds and dissensions among the Christians, and to unite all against the Saracens of the coast. He therefore set out himself, with five hundred horse and five hundred foot, for Tripolis, whither he also summoned Baldwin of Edessa, Joscelin of Tellbasher, William of Cerdagne, and Tancred. When these princes appeared, an arrangement was effected, which brought all the disputes to a termination. Tancred gave up all the places which he held belonging to Baldwin and Joscelin, and the king invested him with the fiefs of Tiberias, Nazareth, and Khai-fa; William kept Tortosa, Arca, and such places as he had conquered himself; the remainder were given to Bertram, who was also to have Tripolis, when it should be taken, and Bertram did homage to the king for his possessions. All seemed now to be adjusted, when a quarrel arose between the attendants of the counts of Cerdagne and Toulouse; and as the former hastened to put an end to it, he was mortally wounded by an arrow: the author of the deed never was discovered, but Bertram was unable to clear himself from the suspicion of having procured the death of his kinsman.

The death of the count of Cerdagne, however, caused no interruption to the preparations against Tripolis. The





View of Sidon.

people of this town had expelled their Turkish governor, and put themselves under the khaleefeh of Egypt. But this prince laid heavy burdens on them, and severely punished all offences. This doubtless diminished their enthusiasm, but they made nevertheless a gallant defence, and at last surrendered on conditions of free egress for themselves and their movable property. But as they were departing, the Genoese and Pisans scaled the wall and began to massacre and plunder. A great number of the Saracens thus lost their lives, and a magnificent public library was burned by the illiterate crusaders.

The following year (1110) Berythus was taken, and the Italians acted just as they had done at Tripolis. A fleet of Norwegian pilgrims, under Sigurd, the son of their king, aided to take Sidon, and their fidelity to their engagements honourably distinguished them from the Italian traders. In the year 1111, a fruitless attempt was made on Tyre, which proved stronger than the Christians had supposed, and they were obliged to retire with the loss of their military engines.

#### DEATH OF TANCRED.

IN the winter of the year 1112, when he was engaged in making preparations against Rodvan and Aleppo, the gallant Tancred felt the approaches of death. He called to his bedside his youthful consort Cecilia, the daughter of the king of France, whom Boemond had wooed for him, and who had encountered the perils of the seas to be united to the most stainless champion of the cross, and with her, Pontius, the son of Bertram of Tripolis, whose father had died in the preceding spring. He joined their hands, and said it was his wish that Pontius, who was then only twelve years old, should, when of a sufficient age, espouse Cecilia. He committed the government of Antioch to Roger, his sister's son, to hold till the arrival of the young Boemond. Then meekly bowing his head, he yielded up his spirit. His mortal remains were deposited with great solemnity in the aisle of St. Peter's church, amid the tears and lamentations of those whom he had governed with justice and clemency.

The valour, the piety, the generosity, the nobleness of mind, which distinguished Tancred, have won him the



favour of his contemporaries, and of posterity, and we have learned to view in him the *beau idéal* of chivalry. But the chivalry of Tancred had nothing in it which would suggest the ideas of any peculiar institution, and characters similar to his are happily to be found in every state of society. His zeal and affection for Boemond and his interests were those of a kinsman, and not of a vassal; of the ladye-loves of the noble Tancred we read nothing, but, what is better, find that he was an affectionate husband to the bride whom his uncle had selected for him. Tancred's fault was a too great love of independent power, which at times betrayed him into acts of injustice; yet even on such occasions he acted from an imagined sense of right, and was easily brought to listen to the arguments of reason.

It cannot but excite feelings of melancholy thus to behold, in the short space of little more than twelve years, the deaths of so many noble princes and gallant warriors, who, at the call of their spiritual father, had marched from Europe, high in hope, and full of manly strength and vigour, but who either had fallen beneath the sword of the Infidels, or had sunk under the influence of the climate, or exhausted by the toils of incessant warfare. Yet their fame, if that be a consolation, still survives, their names are enrolled in the pages of history, and their memories are embalmed in imperishable strains of poetry.

With the death of Tancred terminates in a great measure the interest which is peculiarly attached to the First Crusade; but the condition of the states to which it gave existence in the East will long continue to afford materials for narrative little less attractive.

#### INVASION OF JUDEA.

THE want of union among the Moslems, as we have seen, greatly aided the establishment of the Franks in the East. The Egyptian empire was sinking fast from internal disease; the Turkish princes of Syria were not at unity among themselves, and moreover could not rely on their subjects; for as their possessions had been all conquered within the last half century from the khalifeh of Egypt, their subjects were of the sect of Ali,

and cordially hated the supporters of the Soonite khalifeh of Bagdad. The civil dissensions in the royal house of Seljûk, also, had greatly aided the progress of the Christian arms ; for had the great Malek Shâh been still alive when they entered Asia, their continuance there would have been but of short duration.

The Seljukian empire being now reunited under one head, efforts, it was to be expected, would be made against the states founded by the Franks. Accordingly, in the year 1112, Mowdad of Mosul, Socman, and other Turkish emirs, had collected their forces at the mandate of the sultan, and led them against Edessa ; but the king, Tancred, and the other chiefs, hastened to its relief, and the Turks retired.

In the summer of the year 1113 the sultan again issued his mandate, and Mowdad, Togteghin, who now governed Damascus as Atta-beg\* to the young Seljukian prince, and the other chiefs, collected their forces, and crossing the mountains entered the kingdom, and came as far as Mount Tabor, where they burned the monastery and slew the monks. They pitched their tents in a kind of island, or rather peninsula, formed by the Jordan and another stream† below the lake of Tiberias, whence, during a stay of three months, they spread their ravages over the country far and near. King Baldwin at length, without waiting for the aid which he had summoned from Antioch and Tripolis, collected seven hundred horse and four thousand foot at Acre, and marched against them. But their imprudence leading the Christians into an ambush, fifteen hundred of them were slain, the remainder fled, and the royal banner became the prize of the Infidels. On the third day of this misfortune came Roger of Antioch, Pontius of Tripolis, Joscelin of Tellbasher, and Baldwin of Edessa, with their troops ; many pilgrims too had arrived from Europe, and Baldwin, at the head of sixteen thousand men, took his post on the hills over the Turkish camp ; but the Turks would give no opportunity for fighting, and at length broke up and retired.

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\* Atta-begis, in Turkish, *Father-prince*. The Turkish Atta-begs answer pretty exactly to the Mayors of the Palace of the Merovingian race of kings in France. Togteghin is named Doldequin by the historians.

† Probably the *Yarmûk*, *Sheriat-el-Mandhoor*, or Waters of Gadara.

## COUNT ROGER DEFEATS THE TURKS.

**R**ODVAN of Aleppo died in the same year as his adversary Tancred: his son and successor, Alp Arslân, a youth of sixteen, abandoned himself to such excesses that Lûlû-el-Yahya, a slave to whom he had committed the direction of affairs, put him to death, and governed in the name of his brother Sultân Shâh, a child of ten years. Like Rodvan, Lûlû sought to keep up dissension among the Turkish princes.

Mowdad was assassinated one Friday, as he was conversing with Togteghin, in the mosk of Damascus; and the sultan appointed a chief, named Ak-sunkur, to the government of Mosul, placing under him all the emirs of Mesopotamia. This gave offence to Il-gazi, the son of Orthok, and chief of Maradin, who resisted, but being defeated, fled to Damascus, to Togteghin, who was also offended, and they both swore enmity to Ak-sunkur.

Lûlû knowing this, put the forces of Aleppo under the command of Togteghin, as soon as Ak-sunkur had taken the field, and Togteghin summoned the Frank princes to join him at Apaméa against the common enemy. Roger of Antioch joined him without delay, and Ak-sunkur instantly entered and ravaged the territory of Antioch. The Christians were eager to engage the enemy, but Togteghin kept them back, knowing that the Turkish army would soon dissolve of itself, and perhaps not wishing either side to gain a victory; the king also wrote, desiring them to wait for his arrival. During eleven weeks the chivalry of Antioch were obliged to view with patience the destruction of their country; at length, with clash of cymbals, and sound of pipe and trumpet, the king, at the head of five hundred knights and one thousand foot, and Count Pontius, with two hundred knights and two thousand foot, entered the camp; but the Turks had already retired, and the combined army broke up and went home.

Lûlû, ever vigilant, soon sent to inform Count Roger that Ak-sunkur and Jamdar of Rahabah were leading their troops carelessly and without order against Aleppo. Roger collected his forces anew; he was joined by Baldwin of Edessa, and the patriarch of Antioch came also at

his request. Without respect of persons, the prelate reminded all of their transgressions, and enjoined repentance. Each knight confessed his sins, laying his hands in those of the patriarch, who then solemnized high mass, and declared to the people the forgiveness of their sins; after which, having prayed for them, he departed, committing them to the bishop of Jibel. Two days they marched in the direction in which they expected to find the foe; on the third, just when mass had been sung, a knight who had been sent forward as a scout, came back with a face full of joy, crying, "With the help of God we have found what we were looking for. The heathens are now pitching their tents in the valley of Sacmin, about the wells where we were to encamp."—"Now then, in the name of God, noble knights, to arms!" cried Count Roger, and he rode round encouraging knight and squire to do their duty. The bishop held forth the cross, each warrior thrice bent his knee and kissed the sacred sign; the knights got to horse, the count commanded that none should give over fighting for the sake of plunder, and the bishop menaced the transgressors with excommunication.

The dazzling white of the banners and raiment of the knights, and the flashing of their arms in the beams of the sun as they came over the mountains, augmented their numbers in the eyes of the Infidels. Ak-sunkur and his brother led a body of their troops up the hill named Danit, to be near Jamdar, who was on the other side. The Christians meantime broke into the camp, and released the prisoners. They were beginning to mount the hill on which the standards of the emirs were displayed, when Ak-sunkur came down to meet them, but his men soon turned and fled; Jamdar made an ineffectual attack on the left, and the whole Turkish army was soon in flight. The victors remained three days on the spot, dividing the spoil; presents out of it were sent to Lûlû, and they re-entered Antioch in triumph, amidst the hymns and gratulations of the people and the pilgrims.

Soon after they lost their useful ally, Lûlû, who was assassinated by some zealous Moslems, on account of his intercourse with the Franks.



## MARRIAGE OF KING BALDWIN.

**K**ING BALDWIN, as is frequently the case with those on whom their conjugal obligations sit loosely, had become suspicious of the fidelity of his Armenian spouse; she was said to have conducted herself with great impropriety in an island\* inhabited by the Saracens, in which she had landed in her voyage to Joppa in the year 1100, and he divorced her, and shut her up in a convent. The ex-patriarch Daimbert maintained at Rome that she was perfectly innocent, and that Baldwin's reason for treating her so was the hope of being able to obtain a wealthy wife. The conduct of the king, who sought the hand of Adelaide, the widow of Roger, count of Sicily,† gave countenance no doubt to this charge; but the queen, contriving to escape from the convent, went to Constantinople, where the life she led was so scandalous, as to convince every one that Baldwin had been justified in divorcing her.

Soon after the king's return to Acre, after his defeat at Mount Tabor, his wealthy bride arrived. (1113.) She brought seven ships laden with gold, silver, jewels, rich raiment, splendid arms, and a large supply of wine, oil, and corn. These were convoyed by two ships of war, with five hundred fighting men on board. The masts and beaks of the vessel which bore the countess were richly adorned with gold, and she brought a body of Saracenic archers from Sicily, gorgeously habited, a present to the king. Baldwin sent out three galleys to meet her; himself and all his barons stood in magnificent array on the shore to receive her, and conducted her to the palace through streets hung with purple robes and costly carpets. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, the festival was prolonged for several days; the munificent queen distributed presents to all the knights, and the land was filled with joy and jubilee.

This marriage, however, was fated not to be lasting. About three years after, the king fell seriously ill, and Arnulf took occasion to work on his conscience by repre-

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\* The maps give no island but Aradus along the coast of Syria.

† According to other accounts, she was the widow of another Roger, a relative to the count of Sicily.

senting to him his guilt in living with another while his first wife was alive; it also occurred to him that he and the queen, who was daughter to the count of Flanders, were related within the prohibited degrees. On his recovery, the matter was laid before an assembly of the clergy, presided over by the papal legate, and the marriage was pronounced illegal. Adelaide returned to Sicily, full of vexation at having wasted her treasure so fruitlessly; for a condition of the marriage had been, that her son by her former husband should succeed Baldwin in his kingdom. Roger count of Sicily was so offended at the treatment she had received, that he conceived a deadly enmity against the princes in the East, and for a long time the crusaders received no aid from the Normans of Italy and Sicily.

#### DEATH OF KING BALDWIN.

THE following year (1118) King Baldwin undertook an expedition against Egypt. Collecting a gallant company of knights and foot-men, he placed himself at their head, and in eleven days reached the town of Faramah, near the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile, which its inhabitants had deserted at his approach. Learning here that Babylon (*i. e.* Cairo) was but three days' journey distant, he resolved to advance and attempt to surprise it. But as he and his knights were one day dining on some fish which they had caught in the river, he felt such a pain in an old wound, that he became convinced that the end of his life was at hand. His companions began to lament aloud, but he said to them, "Moderate your grief, and recollect that it is not the strength and ability of one man that guides events. If ye act with one heart for the right, ye will have joy in prosperity, or comfort in adversity." He conjured them not to bury him in the heathen's land, but to carry his body to Jerusalem, and place it beside that of his brother Godfrey; and he charged his cook Oddo to take out his bowels as soon as he was dead, and to fill his body with salt and spices. The knights made a barrow of tent-poles, on which they placed their dying king; the call to return was blown, and they turned their faces homewards. At El-Arish, seeing that his end was fast approaching, they asked

him whom he would have to succeed him in his kingdom; he had just strength enough to say that his brother Eustace was the most worthy, but that, if he would not return to the East, they might choose Baldwin of Edessa, or any other valiant knight. Shortly after he breathed his last; Oddo immediately obeyed his injunctions, and his bowels were buried at El-Arish. The spot still bears the name of Baldwin's Desert (*Sebaket-Bardwil*); each passing Moslem was wont to cast a stone on it, and thus unintentionally contributed to raise a monument to their foe.

They passed uninterrupted by Ascalon, and reached Jerusalem on Palm Sunday. The clergy and people were at that moment descending the Mount of Olives in solemn procession, and singing hymns of thanksgiving; but their joy was turned to mourning when they beheld the last remains of the noble Baldwin. They joined the funeral procession, and conveyed the body to Mount Calvary, where it was deposited beside the remains of his brother Godfrey, amidst the tears of all the Christians, whose sorrow was shared by the Moslems, who regretted in King Baldwin a just and upright ruler. The following inscription may still be read on his tomb:—

The second Judas Machabæus, king  
Baldwin, his country's hope, the church's strength,  
The power of both, whom feared, to whom brought  
Their tributary gifts, Kedar and Dan,  
And Egypt and Damascus homicide,  
Oh grief! lies pent up in this narrow tomb.\*

That very day Arnulf, who had at last attained the patriarchate, fell sick, and in three weeks after his restless life terminated. In the course of the same year died also the emperor Alexius, and Adelaide, the divorced wife of King Baldwin.

#### ELECTION OF A KING.

**B**ALDWIN of Edessa was on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem at this very time, and he entered the city at one gate

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\* The original is as follows:—

Rex Baldewinus, Judas alter Machabæus,  
Spes Patriæ, vigor Ecclesiæ, virtus utriusque,  
Quem formidabant, cui dona tributa ferebant,  
Cedar et Ægyptus, Dan et homicida Damascus,  
Proh dolor! in modico clauditur hoc tumulo.

These lines, we fear, would not pass muster with the prosodians of the present day.

while the funeral procession was passing through the opposite one. Deliberations instantly commenced respecting the choice of a successor. Some maintained that the rule of succession should not be broken through, and that Eustace, the brother of the two last princes, should be invited to fill the vacant throne. On the other side it was argued, that the perilous state of the kingdom did not allow of delay, and that a king should be nominated at once to take the guidance of affairs, and to daunt the foes of Christ. Then, to the surprise of some, came forward Count Joscelin, and said, "There is no place for chance. Here is present the count of Edessa, valiant, upright, and every way praiseworthy: we can never find a better ruler in distant lands, and he is moreover a near kinsman of the deceased." As Joscelin was known to be Baldwin's enemy, he was regarded as a most impartial judge on this occasion; all assented to the choice of Baldwin, and on the 2nd of April he was declared king.

Eustace was meantime prevailed on by the envoys who had been sent to him to set out for the East. In Apulia he heard of the election of Baldwin; and though his partisans urged him to proceed, averring that it was illegal and could be easily set aside, he nobly refused, saying, "Far be it from me to stir up strife in the kingdom which my brothers and my fellow-Christians won with the sacrifice of their lives, and where Christ shed his blood for the peace of the world." He returned home more truly great in thus rejecting greatness, than if he had become the ruler of an empire.

Joscelin, as had probably been previously arranged, was appointed to succeed the king at Edessa. The enmity between him and Baldwin, which has been above alluded to, took place on the following occasion: In the year 1116, when there was a great dearth at Edessa, Roger of Antioch immediately sent corn thither, but Joscelin, in whose territory there was abundance, though he held of Baldwin, refused to give any assistance. His servants even mockingly said to those whom Baldwin had sent, "Your lord may now sell his land to Joscelin, and then go home contented." Baldwin was greatly offended at this conduct of Joscelin, but he concealed his indignation, and shortly afterwards feigning sickness, enticed him to



Edessa, with the hope of the succession. But as soon as he had him in his power, he forced him to resign all his possessions. Joscelin then retired to King Baldwin, who gave him Tiberias as a kind of amends for the loss of Tellbasher.

#### CHARACTER OF BALDWIN II.

**B**ALDWIN II. was, like his predecessor, a man of large stature; his hair was fair, but not very thick. His disposition was naturally mild and compassionate, and his piety was evinced even by his outward demeanour. He was, in fine, as vigilant and provident as a ruler, as he was brave as a warrior. Among his other noble qualities, he was distinguished as an active and skilful horseman, an accomplishment by no means trivial in those martial days.

The archbishop of Tyre relates in his history the following curious anecdote of King Baldwin, which took place at the time when he was still count of Edessa.

Count Baldwin, who, like his uncle and predecessor, had married an eastern wife, namely the daughter of Gabriel, the Armenian prince of Melitene, being at one time in great distress for money, and knowing the Oriental reverence for the beard, resolved, by taking advantage of it, to extract, if possible, the requisite sum from the coffers of his wealthy father-in-law. He accordingly set out for Melitene, attended by a numerous train of knights. His reception was at once kind and magnificent, and he abode there some days. But one day, as he was engaged in confidential discourse with the Armenian prince, they heard a noise, and presently Baldwin's knights all rudely entered the apartment, and one of them thus began in the name of the rest:—"Sir Count, you know how faithfully we have now for a long time served you; how we have shunned neither toil nor night-watching, thirst or hunger, cold or heat, in defending you and your land against all and every of your foes. It is equally well known to you how often we have vainly reminded you of discharging the pay which you owe us. We are now quite weary of want and poverty, so pay us at once our arrears, or give us the pledge which you promised us."

Prince Gabriel, who had been very much amazed and

scandalized at the unmannerly way in which the knights had entered his apartment, required that this address should be interpreted to him. When this was done, he eagerly demanded of his son-in-law what the pledge could be that he had promised his knights. Baldwin blushed and was silent. One of the knights then rudely said, that it was the count's beard which was to be cut off and delivered to them if their pay was not ready against a certain day. Baldwin was obliged to confess that such was the case, and Gabriel, horror-stricken at the intelligence, clapped his hands together over his head, and bitterly reproached the count for having thus incautiously pledged the precious ornament of his visage,—an ornament of which no man could divest himself without incurring well-merited disgrace. Baldwin sought to console him by assuring him that, on his return to Edessa, he would make every effort to raise the money, and expressing his conviction that his knights would be induced to have a little patience. But the knights got into a towering rage, and vowed that they would have the pledge before they left the room, if the money was not paid down to them. Seeing that there was no other mode of averting this indelible disgrace from the husband of his daughter, Prince Gabriel agreed to settle the account, and he gave Baldwin thirty thousand byzants, on his solemnly pledging to him his word of honour, never again, be his need ever so great, to put his beard in pledge to any person whatever. Baldwin and his knights soon after set out for Edessa, rejoiced at the success of their stratagem, and laughing heartily at the ridiculous veneration of the Orientals for the beard.\*

#### DEFEAT AND DEATH OF COUNT ROGER.

IN the second year of the reign of King Baldwin II. (1119), Il-gazi, who was now prince of Aleppo, Togteghin of Damascus, and the Arabian emir Dobais, united their forces against the state of Antioch. Count Roger

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\* The manners of the East hardly ever vary. The reader will recollect the unworthy treatment of King David's ambassadors by the Ammonites, 2 Sam. x. It would appear that this respect for the beard was introduced into Spain by the Moors, for the great John de Castro, one time when he was in want of money for some important expedition, offered one of his whiskers in pledge to the merchants of Goa, and on such good security, obtained at once all he desired.

sent to summon aid from the king, and the other Frank princes, but, urged by his own impatience, and by the solicitations of those whose lands were exposed, he advanced toward the foe without waiting for the arrival of the aid he had solicited. The patriarch and other prudent persons remonstrated, but in vain; he would not listen to them: he however confessed his sins, and confided his last will to that prelate, who returned to Antioch filled with the most gloomy presentiments.

The troops of Antioch, seven hundred knights\* and three thousand foot, set forward with confidence, and came to a narrow valley, named the Field of Blood, north of Atsareb and near the Orontes. Here they pitched their camp. The Turks who were at hand demanded to be led at once to the attack, but Il-gazi, who knew that the Christians were where they could get neither food nor water, counselled patience as the means of securing a complete victory. Unable however to restrain them, he exacted an oath that they would bravely fight, and flinch not, and then led them toward the Christian camp. To deceive the enemy he sent a party in the direction of the castle of Atsareb, where they had a smart encounter with a party of Count Roger's men.

In the evening a council of war was held in the Christian camp; Roger proposed retiring to Atsareb, and there awaiting the attack of the Infidels, and if they did not become the assailants, to fall on their camp the following day. Some still counselled retreat; the course which was the worst, namely to await the Turks where they were, was adopted. Malger of Alville, and forty knights, were then sent out to observe the enemy; ten men were set for the same purpose in a tower on a neighbouring hill; the bishop of Apamea bade each warrior to be at break of day at the tent-chapel of the holy cross to make confession, and to receive the holy sacrament. The confidence of the boastful knights was now greatly lowered, the irregularity of their past lives weighed heavily on their souls, they felt themselves unworthy of the favour of Heaven, and the woeful denunciations of a lunatic woman filled their hearts with dismay. Roger himself,

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\* William of Tyre says only seventy.

no longer secure of victory, sent all his things of value to Artasia, to be given in charge to the bishop of that place.

In the morning, when all his knights had confessed and left the chapel, Roger sank on his knees before the altar, and, full of contrition, acknowledged his manifold sins, and received the absolution of the prelate. He then distributed alms to the poor before his tent, and, to dissipate the gloom which hung over him, mounted his horse, took his hunting-spear, his hawks, and dogs, and followed by his numerous train went forth to the chase. When he had ridden over hill and dale, and killed both beast and bird, he felt his mind relieved, and thought once more on war and feats of arms. Just then arrived one of Malger's knights, to say that the Turks in vast numbers were descending the mountains in three places, which were hardly passable to the wild beasts, with the design of surrounding them. Roger gave orders that at the first sound of trumpet all should arm, at the second set themselves in their ranks, at the third appear beneath their banners at the chapel of the holy cross. He then entered his tent and put on his armour. The first messenger was hardly gone, when a second came, crying, that the foe was just at hand; the trumpets sounded in quick succession, the squadrons appeared in arms before the chapel, the bishop displayed the cross, and exhorted them to fight manfully in defence of their faith; the count again renounced all fleshly lust, and devoted himself to the service of God. Suddenly came a knight, streaming with blood, and said that most of Malger's knights were slain, and then arrived Malger himself, and the survivors, with the intelligence that the enemy had occupied all the passes, and was surrounding them. Orders were given for the squadrons to fall back on the tents, and for the foot-men to envelop the knights.\* Hardly had the order been given, when the Turkish standards were discerned among the olive-trees on all sides, as they rapidly descended the hills, and the Christians saw that the Lord had delivered them into the hands of the heathen.

The knights bent the knee before the cross, and ad-

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\* This was done as a protection to the horses, against which the Turks used to aim their arrows.



vanced to meet the Infidels. The squadron of St. Peter, which had the first rank in the troops of Antioch, charged the foe on the right, and scattered them, but the light troops turned and fled: this threw the others into disorder; a wind suddenly blew from the north, and enveloped the Christians in dust, the Turkish arrows fell in showers, no defence could be made, and at the hour of noon-day prayer a loud cry of victory announced to the people of Aleppo the triumph of the Moslem arms. Count Roger was slain fighting like a lion; the bishop of Apamea, who bore the cross before him, shared his fate; none escaped but those who had fled at first; all the rest were slain or captured. The prisoners were at first treated with some kindness, but next day the most of them were slaughtered, in retaliation of similar cruelty often exercised by themselves on captured Moslems.

The loss of the victors was but twenty men and an emir. A Moslem historian hints that the prophet fought in person on this important occasion. A Frank, he tells us, of gigantic size and in rich armour, was captured by a little, ill-armed Moslem. "Art thou not ashamed," said some one to him, "thou who art armed from head to foot, to have been overcome by so feeble a foe?"—"This little man has not taken me," said he, "nor am I his slave, but a man much larger than I am overcame me, and gave me to this little man. That man was clad in green, and rode on a green horse." Green is the colour of the Prophet.\*

#### TURKISH CRUELTY.

THE king, when he heard of the defeat and death of Count Roger, hastened to Antioch, which the patriarch had put into a state of defence. Having regulated all matters there, he collected a force, and went in search of the Turks, and a smart but indecisive engagement took place between them. He repaired and secured several castles, and having made some stay at Antioch, returned to Jerusalem, and was crowned at Bethlehem the following Christmas.

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\* We may thus see that the Moslems were as credulous as the Christians. The Oriental historians call Count Roger, Sarjal, a corruption of Sire Roger.

The Turkish princes, ere they separated, celebrated their victory over Count Roger in their camp at Aleppo, with noisy and riotous banquets, enlivened by the tortures which they inflicted on their Christian captives. On the fifth day of their revelry a gallant knight, named Robert Fulcoy, who had been made prisoner by some peasants, was brought into the camp; the drunken Turks ran at him to lacerate him, but Il-gazi saved him, and sent him to Togteghin: this chief mocked him, and sent him back to Il-gazi, that he might die by *his* sword. When afterwards Robert boldly refused to abjure his faith, Togteghin was so incensed at his obstinacy that he struck off his head in the presence of Il-gazi, and then giving it to a Saracen artist, had it fashioned into a drinking-cup, and adorned with gold and precious stones, and on solemn occasions he always used this cup at his banquets. The Turkish princes frequently got up from their wine to gain the favour of Heaven by slaying Christian captives. The tortures employed by them were so numerous and so various, that the Chancellor Walter, who was himself one of the prisoners, and whose history has furnished us with the preceding details, abstains from describing them, lest, as he says, the Christian princes, who were in the habit of inflicting every species of torture on their poorer brethren, might learn lessons of cruelty from them.

None were spared but those who could pay a high ransom. Thirty had been already put to death by Il-gazi, and a great number of others were expecting a similar fate, when an accident saved them. Il-gazi reached his sword to the cadi of Damascus, desiring him to strike off the head of Arnulf of Marash, a brave Christian knight. The noble-minded priest handed the sword to an emir who stood near him, and bade him fulfil the prince's wish, that so brave a knight might fall by the hand of a valiant warrior, and not by that of a feeble minister of religion. During the delay which this occasioned, a fine Arabian horse, richly caparisoned, was brought as a present to Il-gazi from the emir Dobais. Il-gazi thought no more of his prisoners, but retiring, and putting on his finest habiliments, mounted the horse, and rode off to show him to Togteghin. The emirs then examined the prisoners as to

the ransoms they would be able to pay, and having written down the several sums, reconducted them to their prison.

A pious legend consoled the Christians for the fate of their brethren martyred at Aleppo. As Samson of Bruera, one of the captives, was lying asleep, he saw the heavens open, and the Redeemer clad in glory descend into the prison, and thrice call himself and his fellow-captives. When they arose and drew near to him, he dipped the thumb of his right hand into the holy oil, and marked a cross on the foreheads of Samson and of twenty-four others. The knight took courage, and asked why he had signed these alone; and the Redeemer made answer, "These suffice for the present; the others shall receive the cross another time." When Samson awoke, he aroused his companions to the morning-prayer, and when it was concluded told them his dream. That very day he and the twenty-four who had been marked with the cross received the crown of martyrdom. As the corpse of one of them, a son of the viscount of Acre, lay on the ground, it was, by the power of God, removed to another place, in the presence of all the spectators. Terror at this sight brought on the cruel Il-gazi a fit of epilepsy. He fell on his face, in dreadful convulsions, in the blood of the martyrs, and lay fourteen days for dead.\*

#### SECOND CAPTIVITY OF JOSCELIN AND THE KING.

A NEW and formidable enemy of the Franks now took the field against them. This was Balak, a nephew of Il-gazi, and grandson of Orthok. He joined with his uncle and Togteghin to lay siege to a fortress named Sardanah; but the king, who was just then in arms to punish Count Pontius for some acts of insubordination, reconciled himself with that prince, and their united forces, joined by those of Joscelin, marched against the Turks. They took up a strong position near Sardanah, and the Turkish chiefs, having vainly essayed to draw them into the plain, and being at last wearied out, retired and separated.

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\* This legend is related by Walter the chancellor, who was one of the prisoners. The dream may have been in a great measure real; we cannot say so much for the miracle.

Il-gazi very soon after, having eaten an excessive quantity of fruit, was seized with a violent fit of indigestion, and the Chancellor Walter says, "His filthy soul was dragged out of him by the nails of the scorpions of hell, and was precipitated into the furnaces full of eternal fire, which burn without end, and which nothing can extinguish; from which," adds the narrator, with great simplicity, "the grace of our Lord preserve us!" The possessions of Il-gazi were divided among his two sons, Sûleiman and Tymûrtash (*Iron-stone*), and his nephew Bedr-ed-dowlah (*Full-moon of the State*), which last was afterwards chased out of Aleppo by Balak.

In the August of the year in which Il-gazi died (1122), Balak made an incursion into the Christian territory, and near Saruj he was so fortunate as to capture Count Joscelin, his nephew Galeran, and sixty of his knights. He offered them their liberty for their lands; but they replied,—“Our lands are like the camels’ loads. If a camel get a wound in the foot, they take off his load and lay it on another camel. So it is with our lands; they pass into the hands of others.” Balak then shut his prisoners up in the strong castle of Khortbert. The following April (1123) the king led his troops against Balak, who feared to engage him, but kept hovering about with his light troops. One night the king, having no suspicion of the vicinity of an enemy, set out from Tellbasher, attended only by the knights of his household, to visit the country beyond the Euphrates. The knights did not keep together; some even fell asleep, and the king, falling into an ambush of the Turks, was on his way to Khortbert as a captive before they missed him.

The kingdom and the two great principalities were now without their heads, and the power of Balak increased fearfully. He laid siege to Aleppo, which, after a short resistance, surrendered, and Sultan Shâh, the son of Rodvan, under whose name Il-gazi and Bedr-ed-dowlah had governed, was sent to end his days at Harran.

#### ESCAPE OF COUNT JOSCELIN.

IN the midst of Balak’s triumph, pigeons came, bearing letters from some of his wives in Khortbert, which told him that they and the fortress were in the hands of



his prisoners. At the call of Joscelin, or, as others perhaps more probably say, of Baldwin's Armenian queen, a party of Armenians, disguised as traders, entered the fortress, having arms concealed among their goods.\* They mastered the garrison, and set the prisoners at liberty. The prudent Joscelin counselled immediate flight, but the king, confiding in the number of the Armenians and the strength of the fortress, resolved to stay and maintain it till the arrival of a Christian army. As the Turks who dwelt around it strictly guarded all the avenues, it was agreed that Joscelin and two knights should endeavour to pass through them, and call the Christians to the aid of their king.

Joscelin, having sworn faithfully to perform his promise, left the castle. The night was moonlight, and it was with great difficulty that he made his way through the enemy. One of the knights then returned with the count's ring (the token agreed on), and Joscelin and the other proceeded on foot, travelling mostly by night, toward the Euphrates. Having escaped the various bands of Turks who scoured the country, they at length beheld the river. But here a new difficulty presented itself; no boat was to be found, and the count could not swim! This impediment however was surmounted by fastening together two inflated skin-bags, by means of which the knight drew the count over to the further bank.

Tired and exhausted, Count Joscelin laid him down under a nut-tree on the banks of the Euphrates, covered up, for concealment, with the underwood and bushes, while his companion went in search of something wherewith to appease their hunger. He came back, accompanied by an Armenian peasant, who brought some dates and grapes. Joscelin came forth from his concealment, and to his terror and surprise, the peasant when he saw him fell on his knees, saying, "God greet thee, my lord Joscelin!"—"I am not he whom thou takest me for," said Joscelin; "but may God preserve him wherever he is!" But the peasant maintained that he could not be mistaken, and Joscelin at length confessed the truth. The good-hearted

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\* This seems to have been a common stratagem in the East. Thus, in the Persian heroic poem, the *Shah-nameh*, the two great heroes, Roostem and Isfendiar, take each an impregnable fortress by this artifice.

Armenian shed tears of sympathy at the narrative of all he had undergone, and readily agreed to conduct him to Tellbasher, and to remain there with him. "Thou didst once," said he, "share thy bread with me when I hungered, and didst let me eat in thy presence; now let me return thee like for like."

Two oxen, an ass, and a pig, formed the peasant's entire stock, of which he was obliged to leave the last behind, either as being likely to prove a troublesome companion, or to avoid exciting the suspicions of his neighbours. He had a wife, two sons, and a little daughter. The count rode on the ass, holding the little girl before him, who at last began to cry at such a rate, that nothing could pacify her; and Joscelin, fearful of discovery, was preparing to separate from his guide, but the good man exhibited such grief that he gave over his design, and they at length all reached Tellbasher in safety, and here Joscelin amply rewarded the faithful peasant.

Such little anecdotes as this are doubly grateful in the midst of wars and battles. They serve to keep us in good humour with our species, by showing that at all times, and in all places, the better part of man's nature finds room for exercise.

#### DEATH OF BALAK.

JOSCELIN speedily assembled a numerous army at Antioch, and was preparing to cross the Euphrates, when he learned that the king was again in irons, a captive at Harran; for Balak had recovered Khortbert, put the Armenians to death with tortures, and reduced the king to his former condition. He therefore contented himself with ravaging the lands of Aleppo, then made an expedition over the river, drove the herds and plundered the caravans, and returning in the month Ramadan, during which the Moslems do not fight, carried off from their pastures nearly all the horses belonging to Aleppo.

Soon after a message came to Joscelin from the brother of the emir of the strong town of Mambej, or Hierapolis, offering it to him if he would protect him against Balak, whose son, Tymûrtash, had treacherously seized the emir and got possession of the town, the castle alone still holding out against him. Joscelin and Balak both led their

forces to Mambej, a desperate battle ensued, and in the evening of that day Balak returned thanks in Mambej to Allah for this his last victory. On the eighth day he prepared to march to the aid of Tyre, which the Christians were now beleaguering; before he set out he put all his prisoners to death, and then riding round the castle pointed out to Tymûrtash the proper points of attack. He had just dismounted from his horse to give his final directions, when an arrow came, shot from the castle, and struck him in the left leg; he drew it out, spat on it, saying, "This is a fatal wound for all the Moslems," and soon after breathed his last.

#### DEFEAT OF THE EGYPTIANS.

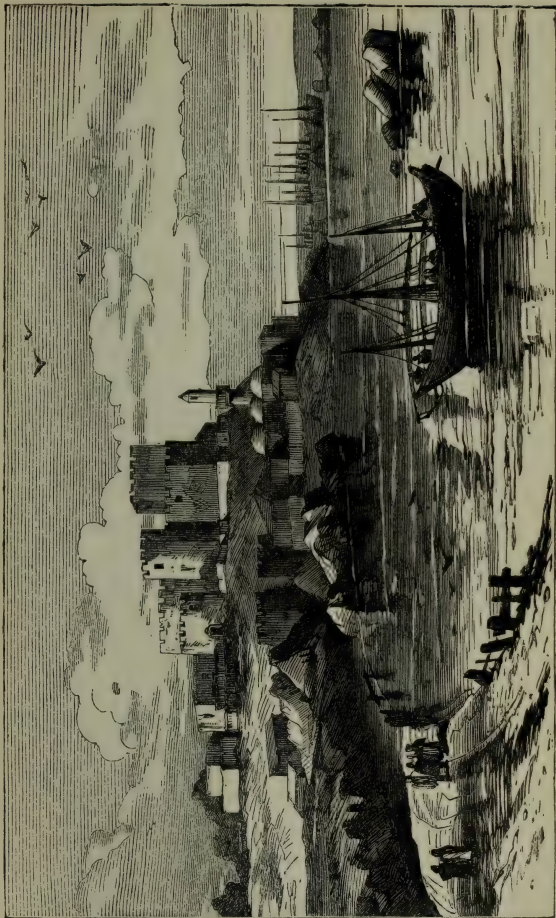
FOR some years the kingdom had been unmolested by the Egyptian arms, but the present occasion was too favourable a one to be let pass. A large fleet appeared before Joppa, and landing a body of troops attacked it by sea and land. The troops of Ascalon advanced to their aid, and the realm had never been in such peril. A solemn fast was held in Jerusalem, which was so rigid, that the mother's milk was denied to the sucking babes, and food was withheld from the cattle. Having thus sought the aid of Heaven, the warriors of the kingdom, only three thousand in number, set forth to seek the foe, under the command of Eustace Grenier the constable, and preceded by the patriarch bearing the true cross, the former abbot of Clugny with the holy lance,\* and the bishop of Bethlehem with the precious milk of the Blessed Virgin. Inspired with enthusiasm, they attacked the numerous Egyptian army at Ibelin, and speedily gained a complete victory. The well-stored camp of the enemy fell into their hands, and they returned to Jerusalem with a rich booty in horses, mules, asses, camels, and laden waggons. The constable Eustace died shortly after this victory, and the chief direction of affairs fell to William of Buris, the lord of Tiberias.

#### TREATY WITH THE VENETIANS.

IMMEDIATELY after the defeat and death of Count Roger, the king had sent to the pope, describing the

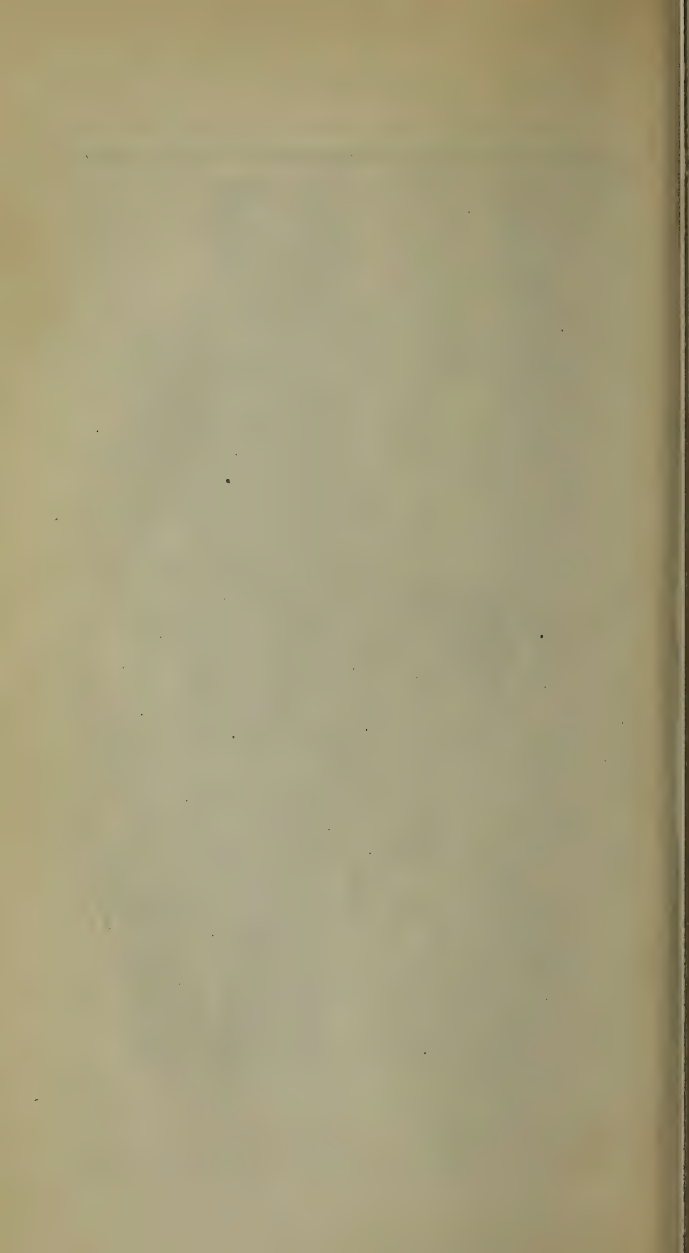
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\* There is some confusion respecting the holy lance, for Count Raymond is said to have presented it to the Emperor Alexius.



View of Joppa.





perilous state of the Holy Land. The pope, Calixtus II., thereupon sent a consecrated banner to Venice, and called on the Venetians to go to the aid of Christ. Moved partly by the call of their spiritual father, partly by the jealousy of the commercial advantages gained by the Genoese and Pisans, the lords of the Adriatic fitted out a large fleet, and sailed for Syria, under the command of their Doge Michael. The Egyptian fleet retired from before Jaffa at their approach, but the Venetians pursued and defeated them, and proceeding to El-Arîsh captured there ten ships laden with the most costly merchandise of the East. They entered the harbour of Acre in triumph, and the doge and his captains, at the invitation of the patriarch and principal persons, repaired to Jerusalem, where they kept their Christmas and visited the holy places.

At Jerusalem a treaty of alliance was entered into with the Venetians, for the purpose of attacking Tyre and Ascalon, the only Syrian sea-ports now in the hands of the Saracens. By this treaty the Venetians were to have in every town possessed by the king or his barons, a street, a church, a bath, and an oven; and their jurisdiction was to extend over their countrymen, and all the inhabitants of that street. They were to be free from all tolls and taxes; the king was to have no claim to the property of such Venetians as died intestate, nor to their goods which were cast ashore on the coast. On their part, they were to bear a third of the expense of the siege of Tyre and Ascalon, but were to have in return a third part of these towns when taken, and in the case of Tyre an annual sum of three hundred byzants in addition.

This treaty being agreed on, the only question was, which town should be first attacked. The people of Jerusalem and the South naturally were anxious that the efforts of the allies should first be turned against Ascalon, whose inhabitants did them so much injury; those of Acre and the towns in the North were just as naturally desirous of seeing Tyre reduced, which so much impeded their commerce. At the suggestion of the doge of Venice, it was agreed to leave the matter to the decision of Heaven by the lot. Two pieces of parchment, with Tyre written on the one, Ascalon on the other, were put into a box which was laid on the altar; and an innocent orphan

boy was appointed to put in his hand and draw. The name of Tyre came forth. Money was then collected for the expenses of the siege, and all the fighting-men were directed to hold themselves in readiness against the festival of the Epiphany.

#### DESCRIPTION OF TYRE.

THE city of Tyre lay in an island, connected with the mainland by the mole which had been formed by Alexander the Great, at the time he had besieged it. It had held out seven months against that prince, and double the time against Antigonus. At the period of which we now write, Tyre was defended by a double wall, which was triple at the mole, and so thick set with towers that they almost touched one another. A single gate opened on the mole, which was so narrow as to be easily cut through, and all approach from the land side thus prevented. Facing the north lay its only harbour, two strong towers of the outer wall defending its entrance. Ships could also lie under the mole secure from all winds but the north.

The city was rich and populous ; several wealthy Moslems, who had quitted the towns which had been conquered by the Christians, had settled there, relying on its strength. Its trade in glass, sugar, and the other productions of the adjacent fruitful region, was considerable. Both Turks and Saracens were interested in its defence, for the Egyptian khaleefeh had ceded a third part of the town to Togteghin of Damascus, on condition of his coming to its defence whenever it should be attacked.

#### SIEGE OF TYRE.

ON the 15th of February, 1124, the Venetians laid their fleet under the mole of Tyre, and they and the troops of Jerusalem established themselves on the mainland among the gardens at the point whence the mole advances, and commenced the construction of their machines. A huge wooden tower, higher than those of the town, was built, and when the machines were all completed the first assault was made. But the besieged behaved manfully, and repelled every attempt of the enemy ; seven hundred Turkish horsemen, whom Togteghin had sent thither,

fought with the utmost heroism, and their example roused the Tyrians to emulation. Aid was vainly however expected from Egypt: no fleet appeared; and when the troops of Ascalon made, on two occasions, incursions into the kingdom, they retired before the people of Jerusalem. Togteghin advanced as far as the river Leontes, within a short distance of Tyre; but on Count Pontius and William of Buris marching against him he retired, either fearing to engage them, or not wishing to aid in maintaining the power of the Egyptian khaleefeh. He sent a letter to the Tyrians by a carrier-pigeon, exhorting them to perseverance; but, terrified by the shouting of the Christians, the pigeon dropped in their camp, and they wrote by it in the name of Togteghin to the Tyrians, "I can give you no help: make the best terms you can with the Franks."\*

Though thus deserted, the Tyrians lost not their courage, and they defended themselves so gallantly, that the Eastern Christians would have retired from the siege, had not the Venetians given them large sums of money, and taken off and carried ashore the rudders of their ships, to convince them that they had no design, as they suspected, of going home and leaving them. Only one guard-ship remained fully equipped in the road.

One night two Tyrian youths swam out to this ship, cut her cable, and fastening another to her, she was rapidly drawn into the harbour, and all aboard of her were then put to death. Another night five Venetians ventured in a boat into the harbour, where they landed, and entering a house, killed two men whom they found in it, and returned in safety, bearing the heads of the slain Moslems. On another occasion, some Turks and Tyrians sallied from the town, surrounded the great tower of the besiegers, and set fire to it.† Stones and darts were hurled in such quantities from the town that the Christians could not approach to extinguish the flames. At length a young man ascended to the top of the tower; others then ventured to reach him water, and he quenched the flames, and escaped unhurt by the missiles which were showered upon him.

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\* Tasso, *Jer. Del.* c. xviii. st. 40-53.

† They lost their lives in the attempt. This may have suggested to Tasso the nocturnal sally of Clorinda and Argantes to burn the tower of the Christians.



From the heroic defence made by the Tyrians, the strength of their walls, and their great superiority in the construction and management of military machines, they would probably have eventually forced the besiegers to retire, had not famine, the most dreaded foe of the brave, come to aid in reducing them. A treaty of surrender was therefore negotiated for them by Togteghin, who had again advanced to the Leontes, by which free egress with their families and movable property was secured to all who chose to depart, and a moderate tribute was to be paid by such as remained in the town. The lower sort of the Christians, and even some of the knights, murmured loudly when they heard the terms of this treaty, and found that the town was not to be plundered, and the leaders had difficulty to still the tumult that broke out; but when they afterwards entered the town, and saw the strength of the fortifications, they praised aloud the goodness of God, who had given them so easy a conquest of such a town, and humbly acknowledged the superior wisdom of their leaders.

On the 27th of June the gate of Tyre was opened, and the Christians admitted. The terms of the capitulation were observed most faithfully, and Christian and Moslem now mingled in friendly intercourse. The royal banner was displayed on the Tower of the Gate, the Doge hung that of the republic on the Green Tower, and that of Count Pontius waved over the Tower of Tanaria. The news diffused joy throughout Jerusalem, the *Te Deum* was sung, a procession moved to the Temple of the Lord, banners were displayed on wall and tower, the streets were hung with carpets of many colours, and young maidens sang and danced in choral measure to celebrate the fall of the strong city of Tyre.

#### LIBERATION OF THE KING.

SHORTLY after the taking of Tyre, king Baldwin obtained his liberty through the mediation of Ibn Moncad, emir of Shaizar. He agreed with Tymûrtash, the son of Balak, prince of Aleppo, to which city he had been transferred from Harran, to surrender to him the fortresses of Atsarab, Sardanah, Ezaz, Cafartab, and some other places in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and to pay a ransom of eighty thousand pieces of gold, a fourth of

which was to be paid down, and hostages given as security for the remainder. He also bound himself to form no league with the Arab emir, Dobais, who, having been deprived by the sultan of his possessions on the Tigris, was endeavouring to drive Tymûrtash out of Aleppo. Tymûrtash now treated the king with the utmost consideration, presented him with a dress of honour, and entertained him at his own table. He even gave him the horse on which he rode the day he was made a prisoner. Ibn Moncad sent his own and his brother's children to Aleppo, as hostages, till the stipulated portion of the ransom should arrive, and the king abode with him at Shaizar. At length the hostages, namely the king's daughter, Count Joscelin's son, and ten others, came with the money to Shaizar, and Baldwin was set at liberty. The Christian hostages remained with Ibn Moncad, who left his own relatives in the hands of Tymûrtash.

When Baldwin came to Antioch, the patriarch Bernhard demanded to know the conditions on which he had obtained his liberty; and, finding that the important fortress of Ezaz was to be given up to the Turks, he insisted that the king should not keep his engagement, telling him that he would take on himself the guilt of the perjury. Baldwin was weak or interested enough to let himself be induced to break his word, and he wrote to Tymûrtash, to say that the patriarch had forbidden him to execute the treaty. The Turk, who did not see how one man could take on himself the guilt of another, wrote to remind the king of the heinous sin of perjury and breach of faith, but his remonstrances were all to no purpose when compared with the authority of the patriarch.

#### SIEGE OF ALEPPO.

SOON after, Baldwin showed himself totally regardless of his engagements, by forming an alliance with the emir Dobais. It was agreed between him, Joscelin, and the emir, that with their joint forces they should lay siege to Aleppo, and in case of success the city should be given to Dobais, and the territory remain in the possession of the Christians. Tymûrtash was now absent from Aleppo, as he had gone to reside at Maradin, on the death of his brother Suleiman.

The allies joined their forces before the walls of Aleppo. In their camp arose three hundred tents, a third of which belonged to the Moslems who followed the standards of Dobais, and of Sultan Shah, the son of Rodvan, the former prince of Aleppo. They cut down the trees, they demolished the oratories,\* they opened the tombs, stripped the dead, and made mangers of the coffins. They tied cords to the feet of the corpses, and dragged them round the walls of the town in the sight of the Moslems, crying, "*See your Mohammed!*" "*See your Ali!*" and such-like. Having found in one of the oratories a copy of the Koran, they held it up, crying, "*See your Bible, Moslems!*" A knight then tore some leaves out of it, and fastened them to the tail of his horse, and every time the horse kicked or dirtied them, the Christians raised peals of laughter. They mutilated their prisoners, and sent them into the town; the besieged treated those who fell into their hands in a similar manner. Peace was constantly talked of, but nothing was done to effect it. The Franks even built houses for themselves, as if determined to stay till Aleppo should surrender.

The garrison, which consisted of but five hundred men, now began to suffer very much, and the *cadi* Aboo-'l-Fazl, (*Father of Excellence*,) who commanded there, resolved to send some of the principal persons of the town to Tymûrtash, to call on him to come to their aid. The envoys were seen and chased by the Franks, who cried out next day to the townspeople that they had taken them; but a letter soon came bearing tidings of their safety. They met with but a cool reception however from Tymûrtash, who made light of the matter. They assured him that his presence only was required, and they were able to defend the town; but soon there came a letter to the chief of the embassy from his son, telling him that they were reduced to the greatest extremity, being obliged to live on dogs† and dead bodies, and suffering from every species of malady, so that the sick were often seen to rise out of

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\* The *meshed*, or oratory, is a kind of small chapel built over the tomb of deceased Moslems. There is usually a Koran left in it, that those who enter may read some part of it for the benefit of the soul of the departed.

† Dogs are considered unclean animals by the Moslems, and their very touch is regarded as pollution.

their beds like prisoners loosed from their chains, at the sound of the trumpet, and when they had driven off the foe, to return to their beds again. When Tymûrtash heard this, he became quite furious, and cast the envoys into prison, as men who had attempted to deceive and destroy him.

The only hopes of the envoys now lay in Ak-sunkur, prince of Mosul, and having effected their escape from prison they repaired to that city. But Ak-sunkur was now lying dangerously ill, and the tidings of his sickness had even reached the camp before Aleppo, where Dobais had them proclaimed with sound of trumpet, and they cried out to the besieged,—“*He in whom ye put your trust is dead.*” The deputies however found him, though suffering, not without hopes of recovery. He was much affected by their picture of the distress of Aleppo, and assured them that if God should restore him to health, he would go to its relief. Three days after the fever left him, and he speedily collected a large army, and set forth for Aleppo. At his approach Dobais displayed his white banners\* and retired with his Christian allies, and the inhabitants came forth and pillaged their camp. Ak-sunkur spent the winter at Aleppo; he repaired the walls, reduced the taxes, established a good police, and did everything to promote the happiness of the people.

The following spring (1125), he came to Shaizar, where he made Ibn Monead give him up King Baldwin's hostages, and he released them on receiving eighty thousand pieces of gold. He and Togteghin besieged and took Cafartab, but he failed in his attempt on Sardanah, and was routed by the Franks before the walls of Ezaz. As his confederates were weary of the war, he agreed to a truce, and returned to Mosul. The truce was ill kept by the Christians, they prevented the Moslems from gathering in their harvest, and King Baldwin gave little heed to the complaints made to him of its violation.

#### DEATH OF AK-SUNKUR.

ON the Friday after his return to Mosul, Ak-sunkur went, as usual, to perform his devotions in the mosk.

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\* This indicates that he was a foe to the khaleefeh of Bagdad, whose colour was black.



But as he was advancing to the pulpit through the midst of the crowd, he was fallen on by eight Assassins,\* disguised as dervishes. Notwithstanding his coat of mail and his guards, he received several wounds, of which he died the same day. The Assassins were killed on the spot, with the exception of one, a young man from the neighbourhood of Ezaz, who made his escape. The mother of this young man, when she heard that Ak-sunkur was slain, and that his murderers also had perished, being assured that her son was gone to enjoy the delights of paradise promised to the followers of Hassan Sabah who fell in obeying the commands of their chief, dressed herself in her best garments, put powder in her eyes,† and gave the most public demonstrations of her joy. Suddenly her son arrived in perfect health; her joy was then turned to mourning, she tore her hair and blackened her visage.

Ak-sunkur, the Oriental writers tell us, had seen in a dream, the night before, a pack of dogs which fell on him. He killed several of them, but was very much bitten by them. In the morning he told his dream to his servants, who one and all advised him not to go out for some days. "But," said he, "I would not on any account abstain from assisting at the prayer on Friday." Such, the historian says, was his constant habit.

The same author tells us that Ak-sunkur was a just man, and one who feared God; of great mildness of character, and very kind to those about him. One of his servants related that he always spent a part of the night in prayer, and performed his ablutions without requiring any assistance. "One winter's night when we were at Mosul," said he, "I saw him come out of his chamber in his drawers, with nothing but a cloak about him; he had a copper basin in his hand, and was going to the Tigris to get some water to perform his ablution. When I saw him I ran to take the basin out of his hand, but he said, 'Go, my friend, go back to thy chamber lest thou shouldst take cold.' I persisted in my endeavours to take the basin from him, but he made me go back to my room."

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\* An account of this sect will be given presently.

† So Jezebel, 2 Kings ix. 30. The effect is to increase the brilliancy of the eyes. This powder is *stibium*, or antimony.

Ak-sunkur was succeeded in his government by his son Massûd.

#### ARRIVAL OF BOEMOND II.

IN the autumn of the year 1126, young Boemond arrived at St. Simeon, with a fleet of ten galleys, and twelve vessels filled with arms and stores. This prince, who was now eighteen years of age, had been carefully reared at Táranto by his mother Constance; he was handsome and generous, brave and affable, and all expected that he would soon be, like his father, the terror of the Infidels. The king cheerfully resigned to him his principality, and, according to agreement, the young prince espoused the king's daughter Eliza.

King Baldwin being now old, and having no male issue, began to cast his eyes about for some prince to whom he might give his eldest daughter, Melisenda, in marriage, and whom he might appoint his successor in his kingdom. Fulk, count of Anjou, having made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land in the year 1121, had won general favour by his zeal and piety. He was now a widower, and the king by the advice of his prelates and barons sent an embassy to France to invite him to return and espouse the princess. (1127.) Fulk, though old himself, and though he had several children by his former wife, the heiress of Maine, accepted the invitation, and resigning Anjou and Maine to his eldest son, departed once more for the Holy Land, where he arrived in the year 1128, and espoused the Princess Melisenda.

#### ATTEMPT ON DAMASCUS.

TOGTEGHIN of Damascus was now dead, and had been succeeded by his son Taj-el-Mûlk (*Diadem of the Realm*) Buzi. The Ismaelites or Assassins were numerous in Damascus; the young prince's vizier favoured them greatly, and had even appointed their chief to the important post of Hakem, or judge of the city. As the Ismaelites were anxious to become possessed of a sea-port, the hakem entered into a secret treaty with King Baldwin, by which he engaged to put him in possession of Damascus in exchange for Tyre. It was arranged that the Christian army should come suddenly to

Damascus on a Friday, while the Turks were in the mosk, and the hakem would have the avenues secured, and open the gates to admit them. Accordingly, in the winter of the year 1129, the king, Joscelin, Boemond, Pontius, and their vassals, with a number of valiant warriors, who were lately arrived from Europe, set out for Damascus in full confidence of soon being masters of that ancient city. But Taj-el-Mûlk had discovered the plot, had executed the vizier and the hakem, and ordered the slaughter of the Ismaelites, of whom six thousand were speedily massacred. The Christians, ignorant of what had happened, had now reached a place named Marj (*Mead*) Safer in the plain of Damascus; when suddenly a party who had been sent to plunder the villages, and collect provisions, were fallen on by a small body of Damascene warriors, and several of them slain. The main army was advancing to avenge them, when all at once there burst on them a most dreadful tempest; the sky was enveloped in darkness, the thunder roared, the lightning flamed, the rain descended in torrents, mingled with hail and snow, and accompanied by a piercing cold, and the Christians, deeming it the judgment of God on their sins, turned and fled.\* Their only acquisition was the castle of Paneas, which its Ismaelite governor put into their hands, that he might escape the fate of his brethren at Damascus.

#### DEATH OF BOEMOND II.

THE Emir Massûd did not long survive his father Ak-sunkur, and on his death, the affairs of Aleppo falling into confusion, Boemond took advantage of it, and he besieged and took by storm the fort of Cafartab. The historians dwell with great satisfaction on his behaviour on this occasion; he did not, they say, like other princes, listen to the prayers of the captives, and grant them their lives by ransom, but he put them all to death without mercy. "The noble and illustrious prince," says William of Tyre, "gave these first fruits of his youth, and first proofs of a good disposition."

The hopes entertained of this young prince were however not to be realized. In the year 1131 he entered

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\* This storm did not escape the notice of Tasso, who has introduced it with fine effect into his poem.

Cilicia, at the head of his knights, to examine the state of the country. Just at the same time Emir Gazî, the son of Ibn Danishmend, invaded Cilicia on the other side. The two armies suddenly met in a plain called the Mead of Clokes, and the young prince, abandoned by his followers in the action, fell bravely fighting.

When intelligence of this misfortune reached Antioch, couriers were instantly despatched to the king, requesting him to come and assume the government. But the prince's widow, Eliza, an ambitious woman, who hated her only child Constance, and would fain rob her of her inheritance, having gained over several of the vassals and soldiers, sent a messenger to Zenghi, prince of Mosul, offering him "a palfrey white as snow, shod with silver, with a silver bridle, covered with a housing of blue satin, a symbol of the fidelity of her promises, and of the candour of her words," if he would aid her against her father. This messenger fell into the hands of the king, who, when he came to Antioch, found the gates closed against him; he was however admitted by a loyal knight and a monk, and the princess took refuge in the citadel. She was soon obliged to come down and implore her father's forgiveness, and she then retired to Laodicea and Jibel, which had been settled as a dowry on her. The king, having made the people swear never to suffer the principality to come to any one to the prejudice of Constance, returned to Jerusalem.

#### DEATH OF BALDWIN II.

SHORTLY after his return King Baldwin fell sick, and he was seized with remorse when he reflected on the evils of his past life. As a means of reconciling himself with God, he resolved to lay aside all the pomp of royalty, and to devote the remainder of his days to devotional exercises in the house of the patriarch.\* He resigned his kingdom, in the presence of the patriarch and some other prelates and barons, to his son-in-law Fulk, giving his blessing to him, his wife, and their infant son Baldwin. He then put on him the habit of the brethren of the Holy Sepulchre, and renounced all secular thoughts.

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\* William of Tyre says, that Baldwin's knees were become hard and callous with his constant kneeling in prayer.



But the remainder of his days were few, for he died on the 21st of August, 1131, and was buried on Calvary near his predecessors.

#### THE LATIN DOMINIONS IN THE EAST.

AS the Latin dominions in the East attained their greatest extent in the reign of King Baldwin II., this seems to be the fittest place for taking a survey of these earliest colonies, established by the people of modern Europe in that part of the world.

The entire sea-coast from Tarsus in Cilicia to El-Arîsh on the confines of Egypt, was, with the exception of Ascalon and Gaza, in the possession of the Franks. In the north their dominions extended inland to Edessa beyond the Euphrates; the mountains of Lebanon and their kindred ranges bounded them on the east as they ran southwards; and then the Jordan and the desert formed their eastern limits. They were divided into four states, namely, the kingdom of Jerusalem, the county of Tripolis, the principality of Antioch, and the county of Edessa; the rulers of the three last held as vassals under the king.

The population of these states and their vicinity was the most mixed and various that can be conceived. There were Jews, Mohammedans, and Christians, of all modes of faith and varieties of manners. The Jews, who were the most despised portion of the population, were divided into—Essenes, who maintained the immortality of the soul; Sadducees, who denied it; and Samaritans, who scarcely regarded as holy any part of the Bible but the Books of Moses.

The Moslems were Turks, Bedoween Arabs, and Saracens or Egyptians, and trading and agricultural Arabs. These also differed in faith and modes of life. The Turks were Soonees, that is, maintainers of the legitimacy of the first three khaleefehs, and of the house of Abbas, which ruled at Bagdad; the others were mostly Shiahs, who regarded Ali as the only rightful khaleefeh, and the Fatimites of Cairo as his genuine representatives. Both religious and political motives made these two parties hostile to each other, and they would never unite cordially against the Christians. As for the Bedoweens, religious

faith hung light upon them; plundering was their occupation and the wealth of the Moslems was as good in their eyes as that of the Christians.

The Christian inhabitants of the land were equally divided. There were the Syrians, or original inhabitants, whose language was Arabic, while the service of their church was performed in Greek. They had adopted several of the customs of the Mohammedans, and, like them, they kept their wives and daughters secluded. They disliked the Franks, by whom they were despised; their morals were corrupt; they were cowardly and false, and would be guilty of treachery for ever so little gain.

The Nestorians held that in Christ *two* natures were united in one person, with but one will; they admitted but three sacraments, baptism, the eucharist, and holy orders; they allowed all their clergy to marry; Scripture alone was their rule of faith.

The Jacobites admitted but *one* nature in Christ; they worshiped images and saints like the members of the Greek Church, and according to some accounts circumcised their children of both sexes.

The Maronites, who dwelt in Lebanon near Byblus, used common bread instead of a *host*\* in the eucharist, and received in both kinds. They did not allow of private masses, or of the marriage of priests, and maintained that there was but one will in Christ.

The Armenians, who dwelt north of Antioch, had a language and alphabet peculiar to themselves. They had also several peculiar customs and religious opinions. They were then, as now, the most respectable portion of the Christian population of the East.

One of the worst classes of the inhabitants of the Latin dominions were what were called the *Pullani*, or descendants of the first crusaders, who remained in the East. They were so named, because these colonists, full of prejudices against the Oriental Christians, would not intermarry with them; and as they had not brought a sufficient number of women from Europe, wives were provided for them from Apulia in Italy. This prejudice however soon gave way, and the crusaders and their sons married

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\* The word *host* comes from the Latin *hostia*, a victim. This information may not prove superfluous to some readers.

wives out of all classes of the Oriental Christians, and even did not reject the alliance of the Moslems. The Pullani became sensual, effeminate, and luxurious; they shut up their women like the Orientals, not letting them go abroad even to hear mass; and the females, in return, put in practice all the artifices of the harem to deceive their jealous guardians. In the enjoyment of their houses and their fertile lands, there was nothing the Pullani more deprecated than war with the Moslems, and they dreaded the arrival of pilgrims whose zeal would urge them to commence hostilities against the heathen. They consequently threw every obstacle in their power in the way of pilgrimage.\*

The pilgrims from the West, who annually arrived in the Holy Land, were also distinguished by different characters. The Italians were conspicuous for their courage at sea and their skill in trade, for obedience to their leaders, for moderation, foresight, and eloquence. The Provençals were considered to be industrious and frugal, and were noted for their care of their horses and mules; the French† were more proud and extravagant, but at the same time more warlike than the Provençals; the Germans had the reputation of being brave, charitable, and pious, but they were charged with violence in language and acts, and with want of moderation in eating and drinking; the same description applies to the Flemings, and other peoples of German race, and in part to the English, who did not however as yet resort in any great numbers to the Holy Land.

#### POLITICAL CONSTITUTION.

WHEN Godfrey had been elected king, he required each of the crusaders to give an account of the customs of his country, and what the temporal and spiritual chiefs deemed suitable for the new state was selected to form its constitution. This was therefore strictly feudal, a transference of Western law and custom to the East, and the most complete system of feudal law which we now

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\* It is perhaps to the Pullani of a later period that the greater part of what precedes more properly applies.

† By the French is always to be understood the people who dwelt north of the Garonne.

possess is that to be found in the Assizes of Jerusalem, as the work containing the constitution of the Kingdom is styled.

All possessors of lands or offices held mediately or immediately of the king, and were bound to the usual feudal obligations of attendance in war, etc., and the united forces of the Christian states were at this time an overmatch for any single one of those of the Moslems. But unfortunately, as we shall see, the rule of the succession of females was allowed to hold, and divisions, distractions, and feebleness were produced thereby. The chief strength of the kingdom lay in the two military orders, which we will now proceed to describe.

### THE HOSPITALLERS.

SOME citizens of Amalfi, in Italy, who traded to the East, had, with the permission of the Egyptian khaleefeh, built a convent near the church of the Resurrection,



Master of the Hospital.



which was dedicated to the Virgin, and named Santa Maria de Latina, whose abbot and monks were to receive and entertain pilgrims from the West. A nunnery was afterwards added, and as the confluence of pilgrims increased, a new *hospitium* was erected, dedicated to St. John Eleëmon (*compassionate*), a former patriarch of Alexandria, or, as is asserted, with perhaps more probability, to St. John the Baptist. This hospital was supported by the bounty of the abbot of Sta. Maria and the alms of the faithful, and the sick and poor of the pilgrims here met with attention and kindness.

At the time of the taking of Jerusalem, Gerhard, a native of Provence, presided over the hospital; and the care taken by him and his brethren of the sick and wounded of the crusaders won them universal favour. Godfrey bestowed on them his domain of Monboire, in Brabant; his example was followed by others, and the brethren of the Hospital soon found themselves rich enough to separate from the monastery. They adopted the rule of the Augustinian canons, and assumed for their habit a black mantle, with a white cross of eight points on the left breast.

Many knights who had come to Asia to combat the Infidels, now laid aside their swords, and, as brethren of the Hospital, devoted themselves to the tending of the sick and relieving of the poor. Among these was a knight of Dauphiné, named Raymond Dupuy, who, on the death of Gerhard, was chosen to be his successor in office.

Raymond, in the year 1118, gave the order its first regular organization. No person was to be admitted under the age of thirteen, or who was not born of Christian parents and in lawful wedlock. It was further necessary that he should be a freeman, unmarried, and in no other order. He was to make the usual vows of chastity, obedience, and poverty, and to promise the fulfilment of all his duties with mildness and cheerfulness, without any strife or enmity. There was as yet nothing whatever of a military character in the order. The title by which the head of the society was distinguished, was that of Master of the Hospital; the members were called Brethren of the Hospital, or simply, Hospitallers. Commanderies was the name given to their establishments in Europe, and those who presided over them were named Commanders.

## THE TEMPLARS.

**D**URING the reign of Baldwin I. the kingdom was constantly harassed by the incursions of the Bedoween Arabs, and pious pilgrims were exposed to great dangers in their visits to the holy places. Nine valiant knights therefore, of whom the two principal were Hugh de Payens and Godfrey of St. Omer, vowed, in honour of the Sweet Mother of God (*La douce mère de Dieu*), to unite the character of the soldier and the monk, for the protection of pilgrims. In the presence of the king and his barons, they took, in the year 1118, in the hands of the patriarch, the three vows taken by the Hospitallers, adding a fourth, that of combating the heathen, without ceasing, in defence of pilgrims and of the Holy Land.

The king assigned them a part of his palace for their dwelling, and the canons of the Temple gave them the open space between it and the palace, whence they derived their appellation of Templars, or Soldiers of the Temple. When Fulk, count of Anjou, made his first visit to the Holy Land, he joined the Templars as a married brother, and he annually, after his return, remitted them thirty pounds of silver for their maintenance; this and other benefactions of the faithful, however, they distributed among the needy, contenting themselves with what was barely necessary. Their garments were such as were bestowed upon them by the charitable, and the seal of their order, when they had attained to opulence—two knights mounted on one horse—commemorated the time when a single war-horse had to serve two knights of the Temple.

When Baldwin II. was released from captivity (1128), he sent envoys to Europe to implore aid of the Christian powers. Among these were Hugh de Payens, and some others of the brethren of the Temple. The Templars appeared before the council of Troyes, and gave an account of their order and its objects, which were highly approved of by the fathers. The celebrated Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, took a lively interest in its welfare, and made some improvements in its rule. A white mantle was assigned as their habit, to which Pope Eugenius some years afterwards added a plain red cross on the left breast;

their banner was formed of the black and white striped cloth named *Bauséant*, which word became their battle-cry, and it bore the humble inscription, *Not unto us, O Lord, but unto thy name be glory!* Hugh de Payens returned to Syria at the head of three hundred knights of the noblest houses of the West, who had become members of the order.



Master of the Temple.

The Hospitallers now found it necessary to imitate the Templars in uniting the military and monastic characters. The knights of the two rival orders henceforth fought with emulative valour; their possessions in the East and the West furnished them with funds for the maintenance of such as took service beneath their banners, and the chief strength of the kingdom lay in their arms, courage, and discipline.

The head of the Templars was styled the Master\* of

\* Sometimes, though less frequently, called Grand (*i. e.* Great) Master.

the Temple ; their settlements were called Preceptories, and those who were over them were named Preceptors. The requisites for admission into the society of the Templars were the same as those of the Hospitallers ; in addition, it was required that the candidate should be of a knightly family, the order being in its very essence military. Hence it was, perhaps, that the Templars always somewhat exceeded the Hospitallers in consideration.

#### THE ASSASSINS.

MUCH about the same time with the crusaders appeared among the Moslems in Syria the sect or order of the Ismaelites, otherwise called Assassins ; where they obtained possession of ten strong hill-forts in Anti-Libanus, near Tortosa, and became the terror of Christians and Moslems alike.

Our readers will recollect the original distinction of the Mohammedans into the upholders and opponents of the legitimacy of the first three khaleefehs. A portion of these last were named Ismaelites, and they were throughout the Abbasside dominions the secret favourers of the Fatimite khaleefehs. Towards the close of the eleventh century, a man named Hassan Sabah, a native of Persia, who belonged to this sect, having been ill-treated in Egypt, whither he had gone to proffer his services to the khaleefeh, resolved, on his return to his native country, to put in execution a plan which he had long since conceived, of turning the influence which he possessed as a leading member of the society to his private advantage. With this view he contrived to make himself master of the strong hill-fort of Alamoot (*Eagle's nest*) in the north of Persian Irâk. Here he fixed the chief seat of his power, which he gradually extended over a large tract of country, and, as we have seen, a settlement was also made in Syria, where the Ismaelites were numerous.

It is said that Hassan held a secret doctrine, communicated only to the heads of the order, which taught the moral indifference of human actions, and that therefore all means might be employed for the attainment of any proposed end. Terror he saw to be the most effectual mode of checking the opposition of kings and princes to his extension of dominion ; and as a means of inspiring



it, he used, we are told, to select such youths among his followers as he saw to be of an ardent, daring spirit, and having entertained them at a splendid banquet, where he dwelt on the felicity to be obtained by an implicit obedience to the commands of the invisible Imâm Ismaël (in whose name he professed to act), and having secretly given a soporific drug to his intended proselyte, had him conveyed, when insensible, to a place where all the pleasures of sense awaited him. Having allowed him the enjoyment of them till nature was exhausted, he gave him the drug again, and had him brought back to his place at the banquet, where he awoke him, and on hearing his account of what he had experienced, assured him that he had actually been in Paradise, and that death incurred in obedience to the commands of the Imâm would instantly obtain him re-admittance to its joys. Life now was no longer of value in the eyes of the Fedavee (*Devoted*), as he was called, and at the command of Hassan or his lieutenant, he cast it away with rapture. These youths, whom he had instructed in various languages, and taught to assume all characters and disguises, were the agents who made the name of Assassin\* so formidable; for, as we have seen in the case of Mowdad and Ak-sunkur, they plunged their daggers fearlessly into the bosom of any prince or noble who was marked out as their victim.

The appellation of the chief of the assassins was Sheikh-ul-Jibel (*Mountain-chief*), so styled from his abode; but the word *Sheikh* signifying *old man*, as well as *chief*, the Latin writers called him the Old Man of the Mountain (*Senex à monte*), and the strangest ideas respecting him have, down to the present day, prevailed in Europe.†

Such, as we have described it, was the Christian dominion in the East, and such the people among whom the old count of Anjou was now to rule. A vigorous hand was required to hold the reigns of government; unfortunately age had weakened the new king's faculties, and

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\* The most probable derivation of this word is from *Hashish*, the *bang* or opiate made from hemp-seed, which they were in the habit of using.

† A full account of both the Templars and the Assassins will be found in a work named 'Secret Societies of the Middle Ages,' the body of which was from the pen of the present writer, but he does not hold himself accountable for its typographic and other errors, as it was printed before he had completed it, and without his knowledge.

he was himself governed first by flatterers, and then by his imperious consort.

#### DEATH OF JOSCELIN OF EDESSA.

THE brave old Count Joscelin of Edessa was now snatched away by death, at the very time when his counsels and his valour were most needed for the defence of the realm.

As the count was besieging a fortress near Aleppo, one of the towers, which had been undermined, fell and buried him beneath the ruins. He was drawn out with difficulty, very much bruised and injured. The Turks of Iconium came soon after and laid siege to a fortress belonging to Edessa, and Joscelin ordered his son, of the same name, to lead a body of troops to its relief; but the young man refused to venture with so small a force against the numerous host of the enemy. The gallant old warrior, in indignation at such cowardice, rose from his bed, summoned his knights, had himself borne in a litter in the midst of them, and set forth against the Infidels. On the way he was met by one of his barons, named Godfrey the Monk, who informed him that they had retired on hearing of his approach. Joscelin got out of his litter, sat on the ground, and with uplifted hands gave praise aloud to God, who had granted him to affright the heathen once more before his death, and he expired in the act.

The count of Edessa was the last of the original conquerors; he was valiant, prudent, frugal, and of simple manners, but his virtues were thought to border on the neighbouring vices. His son was unlike him in almost every respect. In person he was short and squat, pock-marked, with thick black hair, prominent eyes, and a long nose. Though he was liberal of his money, and expert in knightly exercises, he had neither the courage nor the skill of his noble father, and he knew no moderation in the indulgence of his sensual passions. The efforts of Beatrix, his noble and beautiful spouse, to reclaim him, were without effect.

#### ZENGHI.

A TURKISH emir named Ak-sunkur, who held Aleppo and some other towns in Syria, was in the wars after

the death of Malek Shah taken and put to death by Tû-tûsh. His possessions were given to others, and his only son, named Emad-ed-deen (*Pillar of Religion*) Zenghi, then but ten years of age, was left destitute.\* When Zenghi grew up, he entered the service of Socman, the son of Orthok; and he afterwards served under Javali, Mowdad, and Ak-sunkur, displaying on all occasions the most daring valour, and the most ardent zeal for Islâm. On the death of Massood of Mosul, the sultan Mahmood conferred on Zenghi the government of all the country west of the Tigris, for he was aware of the necessity of uniting all against the Christians, and he judged no one so fit as he to be entrusted with such extensive power.

Zenghi was the bitterest and the ablest foe the Christians had as yet encountered.† He was at the same time the justest and most upright ruler the Mohammedan provinces had seen for a long time. He curbed the insolence of the great, and he protected the poor; he was moderate in taxation, regular in the administration of justice, a strict maintainer of military discipline, but at the same time the friend and protector of the soldier.

#### COUNT HUGH DE PUISET.

COUNT HUGH DE PUISET, a native of Orleans, who came to the Holy Land in the time of King Baldwin I., had received from that prince the county of Joppa as a fief. His son, of the same name, married the niece of the Patriarch Arnulf, who had already two sons by her former husband, Eustace Grenier. The count of Joppa was the handsomest man and the gallantest knight in the whole land, and he was loved and esteemed by all. The old king however hated him, as he suspected him, and probably not without reason, of an improper familiarity with his young queen; and at his instigation Hugh's own step-son, Walter of Cæsarea, accused him of high treason. The feudal court awarded a trial by battle, but on the appointed day the count did not appear, either conscious of guilt, or regarding the decision

\* We follow the History of the Atta-begs in this account of Zenghi's origin. According to others he was the son of Ak-sunkur, the prince of Mosul, of whom we have already had occasion to speak.

† *Sanguinus* is the name by which the Latin writers call him, and they shrewdly observe how well it expresses his nature.

as unjust and unnatural. Sentence having been given against him, he sought the aid of the Ascalonites; but when the king appeared before Joppa, he was abandoned by his vassals, and was obliged to submit; under the mediation of the patriarch, an agreement was effected, by which he was to quit the country for three years, and then to return and resume all his rights and possessions.

But while Hugh was waiting at Jerusalem for an opportunity of going to Europe, he was one day, as he was playing at dice in a shop in the street, fallen upon and wounded in several places by a Breton knight. Suspicion fell at once on the king; but the knight, when seized and tortured, declared that it was entirely his own act, done with the hope of obtaining the royal favour and reward. As soon as the count was recovered, he went to Apulia, where King Roger gave him the county of Gargana, and he died before the period of his exile was expired. The queen, enraged at the stain cast on her fame, or at the separation from her lover, now persecuted all his enemies most unrelentingly, and she so terrified the king as to reduce him to a complete state of tutelage under her.

#### MARRIAGE OF CONSTANCE OF ANTIOCH.

**T**HE ambitious widow of Boemond made another attempt to regain the chief power in Antioch, in which she was aided by Pontius of Tripolis, and Joscelin II. of Edessa. The royal barons called on the king to come to their aid, and he lost no time in setting forth; but as Pontius refused him a passage through his territory, he had to proceed by sea from Bairoot to St. Simeon. His presence soon reduced all to order at Antioch, and he then led his troops against the count of Tripolis, whom he defeated at Rugia. Pontius having made his submission, the king confided the affairs of Antioch to a brave baron of that state, named Roger Mansver, and returned to Jerusalem.

An invasion of the land of Antioch by Zenghi soon recalled the king thither, and when he had repelled the Turks, the barons, seeing their defenceless state, became urgent with him, as the feudal superior, to select a husband for the young princess among the nobles of the



West. He assented to their wishes, and named several for their acceptance, among whom they chose Raymond, the second son of William, the count of Poitou, who had been in the Holy Land. A knight of the Hospital was sent secretly to the court of England, where the young prince then was, to offer him the hand and possessions of the heiress of Antioch. This secrecy was considered requisite, lest Roger, count of Apulia, might, if he heard of it, renew his old claims on Antioch, and weaken the state by dissension.

In the year 1136 Count Raymond arrived at Antioch. He had encountered many dangers on the way; for the count of Apulia, having learned the object of his journey, had laid plans for arresting him at the sea-ports of his states. By travelling in the guise of a poor pilgrim, and by dividing his train, making some precede, some follow him, Raymond contrived to elude the vigilance of his enemy. At Antioch other difficulties awaited him, for the Patriarch Arnulf, a man of many eminent qualities, and supported by a large proportion of the knights and people, had hoped, by forming a union of interest with the Princess Eliza, to secure to himself the supreme power in Antioch, and to emancipate the patriarchate from the supremacy of Rome. Soon however both he and Raymond saw that they were necessary to one another, and an alliance was formed between them, Raymond consenting to hold his principality as a fief of the patriarch, and Arnulf engaging to gain him admittance into the town, and to unite him to the princess Constance.

This agreement brought, as its necessary consequence, breach of faith to the Princess Eliza on the part of the patriarch; but this he little heeded, and he even added mockery to it. He told her that it was herself and not her young daughter that the count wished to marry. Full of joy, Eliza repaired to the church at the appointed time, and was not undeceived till she saw Raymond take the hand of Constance, and lead her to the altar. She hastened away to Laodicea, full of rage against both him and the patriarch, between whom the unity was certainly not of long continuance.

Raymond was a youth of great size, strength, and

beauty, though his years were so few, that his beard was not yet grown. He excelled the men of his time in knightly accomplishments, was generous, affable, and sincerely pious, and—a virtue rare in those days—chaste, and strictly faithful to his consort. But his virtues were shaded by a reckless passion for gaming, an impetuosity of temper, and a levity of mind which constantly led him to form engagements that he could not or would not afterwards fulfil.

#### DEATH OF COUNT PONTIUS.

SOME time before this period the prince of Damascus had made himself master of Paneas during the absence of its captain, who was with the royal army at Joppa, and the Damascenes advanced to Tripolis. Count Pontius led his troops against them, and a bloody battle ensued, in which the count was made a prisoner. The Turks were ignorant of the rank of their captive, till informed by some Syrian Christians of Mount Lebanon. The brave Pontius was instantly put to death, but his son and successor, Raymond, took a severe vengeance on the Syrians of Lebanon for this piece of treachery; for, invading their territory, he made a large number of them prisoners, whom he brought to Tripolis, and put to death with the most cruel torture.

#### DANGER OF THE KING.

IN the year 1137 Zenghi came and laid siege to Barin, or Monsferrandus, in the territory of Tripolis. Count Raymond instantly applied to the king for aid, and Fulk put himself at the head of six thousand men to come to the relief of that important fortress. But, either through ignorance or design, his guide led him through narrow and difficult passes of the mountains, which exposed the troops to attack without the means of defence. Zenghi, on learning how the royal troops were situated, lost no time in coming to attack them. The Christians were defeated, many valiant knights were slain, and the king fled with a few, and shut himself up in Monsferrandus; the infantry were all slaughtered or made prisoners. Raymond of Antioch and Joscelin of Edessa immediately assembled their troops to go to the relief of their liege. The Patriarch of Jerusalem, as the kingdom was now

nearly destitute of fighting-men, having enjoined a rigid fast, hastened to Joppa to look out for the arrival of pilgrims, and hardly had he arrived there, when four ships were descried in the offing making for the harbour; as they approached, the crosses which they wore became visible on the garments of both men and women, and filled the spectators with joy and hope. Moved by the entreaties of the patriarch, the pilgrims, as soon as they had landed, took arms, and preceded by that prelate bearing the True Cross, set forth for Monsferrandus.

But Fulk was ignorant of the efforts made by his faithful subjects, and famine began to be felt in the fortress. He therefore lent a willing ear to the proposals of Zenghi, who, aware of the approach of relief, feigned an extreme regard for the high birth and dignity of those who were in the fort, offered a free passage to the king and his knights, the liberation of Raymond of Tripolis, who was now in his hands, and other prisoners, on condition of his giving up the fort and paying fifty thousand pieces of gold. When they came out, they were treated with the utmost respect and courtesy by Zenghi and his emirs, and the Attabeg presented the king with a dress of honour. As Fulk was proceeding through the plain of Acre, he met the troops who were coming, when too late, to his relief, and he returned to Jerusalem with the patriarch and the pilgrims.

The Oriental historians relate on this occasion the following honourable trait of Zenghi.

After this, Zenghi took Cafartab and Marra from the Christians. Those who had lost their property, or the descendants of such as had lost it, when Marra was taken by the Franks in the year 1099, came to the Attabeg requiring to be reinstated. Zenghi demanded to see their titles: "We have them not," said they; "when the Franks came, they seized our goods and destroyed our titles." He then had the registers at Aleppo examined, and all whose names were found set down as paying tax for any property, were put in possession of it forthwith.

#### THE EMPEROR JOHN.

WHEN Alexius died, in the year 1118, an ineffectual attempt was made by the empress to secure the

succession for the husband of the Princess Anna. But Bryennius wanted vigour of character, and his learned and ambitious wife bitterly laments that she was not the man instead of him.

The Emperor John was a man possessing many noble qualities, of great valour and conduct in war, and irreproachable in his morals; but his personal appearance was unprepossessing, his stature being low and mean, and his hair and complexion dark; hence he was called the Moor, and, in derision, Handsome John (*Kalo-Ioannes*). He had the weakness, common to ordinary or deformed people, of attempting to conceal his defects by dress, and the cut of his hair and of his shoes was a matter of no small importance in his eyes. But this little defect detracted nought from his nobler qualities.

He magnanimously pardoned those who had conspired to deprive him of his rights; and when he had restored tranquillity in the interior he turned his arms against the Turks, whom he drove out of Phrygia and Pamphylia, then led his forces to the Danube, and chastised the Pechenegans and the Servians. He now resolved to assert his claim to the dominion of Cilicia and Antioch. In the year 1137 he entered Cilicia at the head of a powerful army, and speedily made himself master of the whole country, and menaced Antioch. This was just at the time that King Fulk had got out of Monsferrandus, and Raymond instantly applied to him as his liege lord to come and defend him against the Greeks; but Fulk replied, that he must defend his own realm against the Infidels of Ascalon and Damascus, and bade him make the best terms he could with the emperor, who was at least a Christian.

#### THE EMPEROR IN SYRIA.

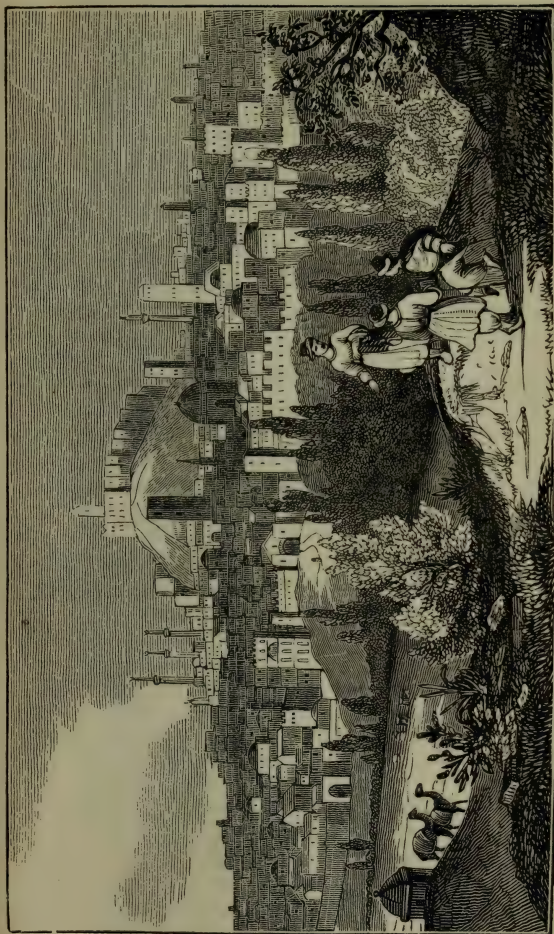
THE emperor was before the gates of Antioch, when Raymond returned to that city. During several days he assailed its walls without effect, and at length the prudent men on both sides succeeded in bringing about an accommodation, Raymond agreeing to give up Antioch as soon as the emperor should have conquered and put him in possession of Aleppo, Shaizar, Hama, and Emesa. He then entered the imperial camp, and took the oath of



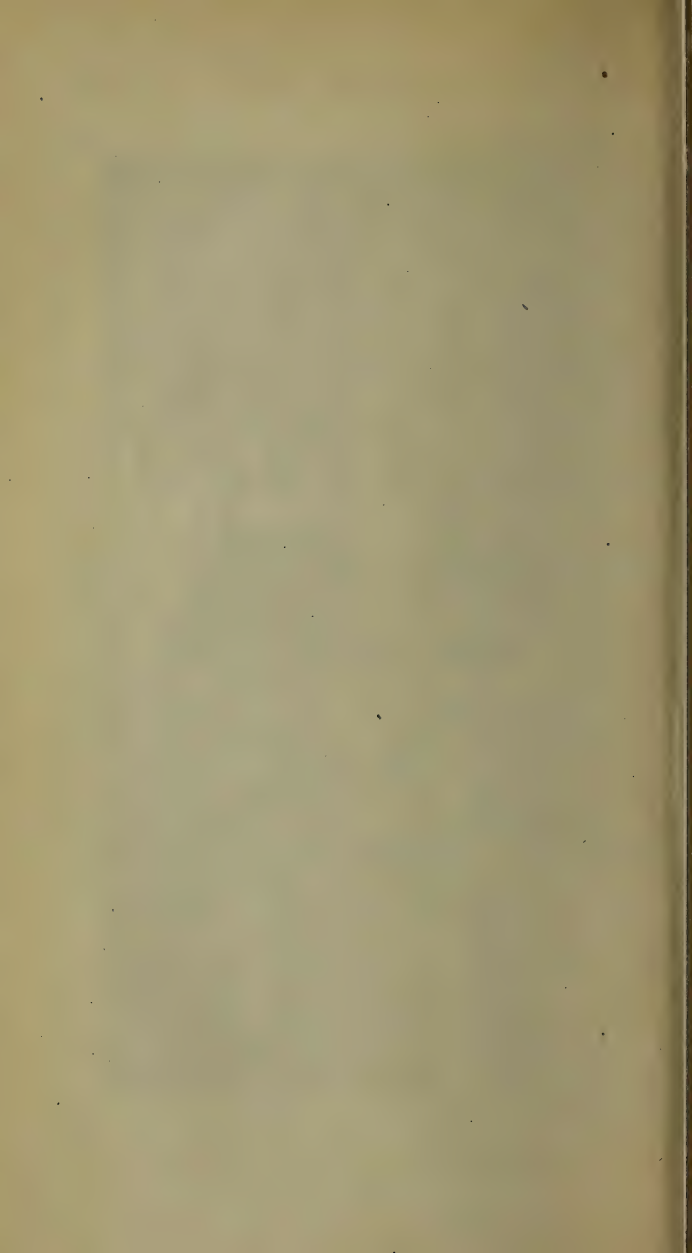
fealty ; the banner of the empire was displayed from the top of the loftiest tower of the citadel, and the emperor departed and took up his winter-quarters at Tarsus.

This treaty was kept a profound secret from Zenghi, between whom and the emperor an interchange of presents and courtesies had taken place. But in the spring (1138) the war commenced by Raymond's seizing, in violation of the truce, and putting in irons, all the merchants of Aleppo who were at Antioch. The imperial army marched against Aleppo, whose inhabitants instantly sent to call Zenghi, who was besieging Emesa, to their aid. Zenghi sent the militia of Aleppo to the defence of their homes, and he himself approached the imperial army with all his forces. At the same time he despatched an envoy to the sultan at Bagdad, calling on him for aid against the Greeks.

The emperor conquered, after a gallant resistance, the town of Buzaa, near the Euphrates, which he gave to Joscelin of Edessa ; he then advanced against Aleppo, but want of water and provisions soon obliged him to raise the siege. He took Atsareb, and invested Shaizar. After an incessant conflict of ten days, during which the emperor, whose golden helm rendered him conspicuous among the warriors, displayed the utmost valour, the town was stormed, and all of its inhabitants who did not sue for baptism were slaughtered without mercy. The citadel however still held out. While the hottest of the engagement was going on, Joscelin and Raymond had been playing at dice in their tent, for Zenghi had been unceasing in his efforts to sow dissension between them and the emperor, who, disgusted with their conduct, lent a willing ear to the proposals of the emir of Shaizar, who agreed to pay him tribute, and sent him a large sum of money, and many rich presents, among which was a cross of brilliant stone, made as was said by order of Constantine the Great, and which had fallen into the hands of the Turks when the emperor Romanus became the captive of Alp Arslân. The emperor accordingly set fire to his beleaguering machines, and departed from before the town, highly displeased with the conduct of his Latin allies.



View of Aleppo.



## THE EMPEROR AT ANTIOCH.

GREATLY to the annoyance of Raymond and Joscelin, the emperor resolved to enter Antioch, and give his troops some days' rest there. He made his entry with all the pomp of victory; clergy and people advanced to meet him; the sound of music, the songs of praise, the shouts of joy, filled the air. He proceeded along the streets, which were adorned with costly hangings and the images of saints, mounted on horseback, the Counts Raymond and Joscelin on foot, holding the bridle of his horse; and, entering the church of St. Peter, returned thanks to Heaven for the successes which had crowned his arms. He thence advanced to the palace, in which he acted as its owner, and distributed rich presents to the barons, knights, and people.

After a few days he called before him Raymond, Joscelin, and the barons of the land, and required that the citadel should be delivered up to him, as Antioch was the only fit place of arms for their future operations against the Turks. As he only required what Raymond had already promised, all were confused, and kept silence; till at length the wily Joscelin replied, "What you have spoken, most gracious lord, was spoken as by the Spirit of God, and your anxiety for the weal of the Latin Christians is well known unto us. But by our feudal rules the prince cannot grant what you have so justly required without the consent of all his barons; wherefore give us time for deliberation." The noble-minded emperor yielded a willing assent, and Joscelin withdrew, Raymond still remaining in the presence.

Immediately Joscelin had a report spread among the people that the barons had sold the town to the Greeks, and that all the Latins were to be expelled from it. They grasped their arms, filled the streets with tumult, and ill-treated all the Greeks whom they met; Joscelin, then mounting his horse, rode to the palace, and rushing into the imperial presence, pictured the tumult and the danger in the strongest colours to the emperor, who, in apprehension for his safety, agreed to recede from his demands, and promised to leave the city the next day. The commotion was then easily stilled, and the emperor, who



was anxious to return to his capital, made no inquiry, and departed, promising to come again to their aid.

Four years afterwards (1142) the emperor appeared again in Syria, with the intention of forming Antioch, Cilicia, and Cyprus into a principality for his youngest son Manuel. He besieged Antioch without success, and as in the following spring he was preparing to renew his operations against it, he happened one day at the chase to wound himself in the hand with a poisoned arrow, which he was about to discharge at a wild boar. He would not permit his arm to be amputated, and he died of the wound. His son Manuel, whom he named as his successor, immediately led back the army to Constantinople, to maintain his claims against his elder brother, Isaac, and the apprehensions of the Latins were dissipated.

#### ZENGHI'S AMBASSADOR AT BAGDAD.

THE artifice of Count Joscelin reminds us of a similar one employed about the same time at Bagdad.

The author of an Arabic work named the History of the Attabegs, having spoken of the envoy sent to Sultan Massood by Zenghi, at the time the Greeks were before Shaizar, thus proceeds:—

“The envoy, who was the *cadi* Kemal-ed-deen, related to my father as follows: ‘When Zenghi ordered me to go and lay before the sultan the lamentable state of Syria, the number of the enemies of Islâm, and the need there was of aid, I said to him, ‘It is to be feared that the Christians want to get the whole country, and that the sultan may employ this pretext for sending his troops into Syria, and reducing it again under his yoke.’—‘On the other hand,’ replied Zenghi, ‘if the Christians want to get Syria, and they take Aleppo, it is all over with Islâm in this country; and at all events it is better that Syria should be in the hands of the Mussulmans, than in those of the Infidels.’ I went then to Bagdad and did as I was directed, but the sultan at first only made me fine promises and sent no troops. Meanwhile Zenghi ceased not to write to me to urge the departure of an army, and it was in vain for me to solicit the sultan, as I got nothing but promises. When I saw the sultan’s want of

zeal in the matter, I called the man who had accompanied me in my journey, and said to him, 'Here, take this money, and go and distribute it among the rabble of the city, and be next Friday with all of them at the mosk of the palace, and as soon as the preacher gets up into the pulpit, you must all stand up and call the Mussulmans to arms, with these words, O Islâm! O religion! O Mohammed! After that you will leave the mosk and come to the sultan's palace and raise the people there. I will take on me to have the same thing done by another person in the mosk of the sultan.'

"As soon then as Friday was come, just at the moment when the preacher was commencing, my comrade got up, tore his raiment, cast his turban on the earth, and began to cry with all his might. At this signal the crowd that had been collected began to shed tears and to utter the most horrible cries; the congregation could not resist it, they all stood up, and the mosk resounded with groans and lamentations. The service was interrupted, the people hurried in a tumult to the sultan's palace, and people and soldiers might be seen all at once collected round the palace, weeping, sobbing, and with loud cries calling for war. The disorder soon became general; the sultan in a tremor asked what was the meaning of all this. 'Tis the people,' said some one, 'who are in insurrection because you do not send your armies to the holy war.'—'Let the cadi come hither,' replied he. I instantly appeared before him, not without fear, but resolved to be sincere and to tell the truth. As soon as he saw me he said, 'Cadi, wherefore this tumult?'—'Tis the people,' replied I, 'who are afraid of being exterminated, or of being forced to turn Christians. Doubtless,' added I, 'the sultan is not aware of the little distance there is between him and the enemy. There is but a week's march. If the Christians take Aleppo, they will lay your empire waste, and come to Bagdad by the Euphrates and by land, without there being any barriers strong enough to stop them.' In a word, I made him see the danger of his position, and made it so plain to him, that he saw, as one may say, the enemy with his eyes. 'Well, then,' replied he, 'rid me of this populace, and take what troops you will. You will set out with them, and the rest shall follow without delay.'

"I then went back to the multitude, and informed them of the sultan's reply: I enjoined them to disperse, which they did on the instant; after which I selected twenty thousand horse out of the army, and sent word to Zenghi, telling him that I only wanted time to join him. The sultan had given me leave to depart, and even pressed me to be as speedy as possible. I passed with my troops to the western bank of the Tigris: but just as I was setting forth, I received from Zenghi the news of the departure of the Greeks, and orders to thank the sultan as well as his troops, as they were not now required. I then went to the sultan, but he insisted on the necessity of sending an army into Syria, in order, he said, to annihilate the Franks, and to drive them out of the country, but in reality to open a way into Syria for his troops, and to reduce it under his authority. I was obliged to exert all my powers on the vizier and the ministers, and I succeeded in getting the troops recalled to the east bank, after which I returned to Zenghi."

#### DEATH OF KING FULK.

IN the year 1139, the Christians were in alliance with Anar, who governed Damascus, against Zenghi. The Attabeg feared to encounter their united force, and retired to Emesa. The allies, who were encamped on the Meidân (*Mead*, or *Plain*) before Damascus, then raised their banners with clash of cymbal and clangor of trumpet, and marched against Paneas, whose emir had declared for Zenghi. After a gallant resistance, the fortress surrendered, and, according to agreement, it was delivered up to the king of Jerusalem.

This was the last military exploit of the king. As, in the autumn of the year 1143, he was with a splendid train accompanying the queen in an excursion from Acre to an agreeable place in the vicinity, some of the attendants who were on before put a hare up out of a furrow. They pursued her with loud shouts, and the king, who passionately loved the chase, made ready his hunting-spear, and galloped forwards with such impetuosity, that his horse fell with him. His head was bruised against the saddle, and he was taken up speechless, and brought to Acre, where he died on the fourth day. His body was con-

veyed to Jerusalem, and placed by those of his predecessors.

Fulk left two sons, Baldwin, aged thirteen, and Amalric, aged seven years. The Queen Melisenda, a woman of masculine spirit, undertook the government for the minority of her son Baldwin, and she and the young prince were crowned and anointed together in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, in presence of the prelates and barons of the kingdom.

#### CAPTURE OF EDESSA.

COUNT JOSCELIN, instead of residing at Edessa, and prosecuting the war against the Turks like his brave father, fixed his abode at Tellbasher, in order to enjoy his pleasures remote from alarms. Zenghi, who had deeply at heart the conquest of this bulwark of the Latin power, suddenly collected a large army, and appeared before its walls on the 14th of November, 1144. Seven large wooden towers were raised against the city, which the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, gallantly defended. Meantime the miners of Aleppo made their way to the walls, which they undermined, and propped with timber. Before they set fire to the timber, Zenghi, anxious to spare the effusion of blood, sent into the town, offering to give any two hostages they should demand for the safety of two of the inhabitants, who would come out and view the state of the mines. These offers were rejected by the Latin archbishop, who every moment expected aid from Joscelin. The props were then set on fire, the walls and towers fell with a loud crash, the Turks poured in at the breach in myriads, resistance was vain, the inhabitants of all orders fled in terror and disorder to the citadel, but the Latin garrison refused them admission, as the archbishop was not there. Men and women, and children, priests and warriors, fell beneath the Turkish scimitar. At length the warlike prelate came hastening from the breach, the gates were opened, but it was now too late, and he fell himself among the slain, pierced by an arrow. Thousands lost their lives in the crush at the gate.

Zenghi made every effort to put an end to the slaughter. He himself rescued the Syrian archbishop out of



the hands of some Turks, who had stripped and were flogging him, and on learning his rank gave him suitable clothing. When he reproached him with not having surrendered the town, and saved the lives of so many people, the prelate replied, "God hath given thee the victory, to make thy name great and illustrious among kings, and we can now look on the face of our Lord without fear, since we have done our duty, and have not broken our oaths."—"Right, bishop," said Zenghi, "those who keep their faith even to the death, find favour both with God and man."

The citadel surrendered the following day; the garrison was allowed to retire, but all the other Franks were put to death, while the politic conqueror treated with favour the Syrians and Armenians, leaving them in undisturbed possession of their properties; and he enjoined the governor whom he set over them to levy no taxes but such as were just and moderate. He then departed, and employed his army in the reduction of the other places beyond the Euphrates.

The capture of Edessa caused the greatest joy through the Mohammedan world. "After this conquest," says the author of the *History of the Attabegs*, "Islâm put forth her horns in the country, and displayed her strength and the signs of victory." According to him it was even signalized by miracles, and the open favour of Heaven.

"I have been told," says he, "by many persons of good credit, that on the day of the capture of Edessa, the Sheikh (*abbot*) Aboo Abdallah, a learned and pious man, detached from the world, and in great repute for some acts approaching to the miraculous, being in his cell, came forth with his countenance radiant with joy. He seated himself beside some persons there, and cried, 'One of our brethren has just told me that Zenghi is entered this very day into Edessa, of which event he was a witness.' He then said, 'Go, Zenghi! such an act will do thee no hurt;' which words he repeated several times. They marked the day, and found that it was that of the capture of Edessa. Shortly after, some soldiers who came direct from the army said to the sheikh, 'The moment we saw thee mounting the ramparts of Edessa, and crying *God is great! God is great!* we had no more doubt of the success of our arms.'

The sheikh asserted in vain that he had not left his cell; they maintained that they had seen him with their eyes."

Again he says, "Here is another anecdote, which I have from a man well learned in history. At the time of the taking of Edessa, there was at the court of the king of Sicily a Mussulman of Africa, a man of piety and of great learning. The king took great pleasure in conversing with him, and made more of him than of the priests and monks of his court. This prince had some time before sent a fleet to the coast of Africa, and news came that it had taken a number of prisoners and a rich booty. The king was then in the midst of his court, with the African sage beside him. This man was slumbering and appeared asleep. The king roused him, and said, 'Doctor, hast thou heard how we have treated the Mussulmans? Where was thy Mohammed then, that he did not come to their aid?'—'He was assisting at the taking of Edessa,' replied the sage. At these words all who were present began to laugh, but the king said, 'This is no subject for laughter; by God, this man knows well what he says.' He was much affected by those words, and as the news soon came of the entrance of Zenghi into Edessa, he thought nothing of the successes of his fleet, so much importance did the Christians attach to the preservation of that city."

This author also relates that he had it from good authority, that Zenghi had after his death appeared to a pious Moslem in a dream. "How hath God disposed of thee?" said the dreamer. "God hath forgiven me my sins," replied the glorified emir. "And wherefore?"—"Because I took Edessa," was the reply.

These anecdotes, beside serving to show that the Moslems were not behind their Christian contemporaries in superstition, evince the importance of Edessa in their eyes. In the West the intelligence of its capture was heard with dismay, and it gave occasion to the second great crusade.

#### DEATH OF ZENGHI.

TWO years after the capture of Edessa (1146), as the valiant Zenghi, who was now sixty years old, was besieging a place named Jabar, on the Euphrates, which was held by the Khoords, he was fallen upon and mur-

dered in his sleep by some of his slaves, whom he had menaced with chastisement. The assassins made their escape into Jabar, and it was from the garrison that the troops of Zenghi learned the fate of their prince. His servants ran to his bed, and found him in the agonies of death. "Thus ended Zenghi. A fine morning, he reached not to the evening, his power left him, death triumphed over him, his troops and his armies could not defend him, his wealth and his palaces availed him nought, his slaves and his warriors stopped not the course of fate, his forts and his provinces saved him not from destruction, his hopes were deceived, he reached the end of his career, deserted by his slaves and his friends. Ah! what a star of Islâm then was eclipsed! What an ocean of goodness was then dried up! What a full-moon of noble qualities then set! What a lion became then the prey of another! The height of his citadels saved him not; the back of his horses was no refuge."

The Arabian author thus moralizes at great length on the death of Zenghi, and then gives abundant instances of his virtues and great qualities, throwing into the shade everything that might prove injurious to his fame.

#### ANECDOTES OF ZENGHI.

THE following traits of character in Zenghi are not without interest:—

"I have heard my father say,"\* says the author just quoted, "that Zenghi had a handsome countenance, with a brown complexion and blue eyes. His life was one of the most glorious; never did any one exhibit more activity and intelligence in the conduct of affairs. His subjects lived in perfect security under him, and the feeble stood not in dread of the strong.

"To give an instance of his justice, I have heard my father say, that one winter, when Zenghi came to our residence at Jezireh-ben-Omar,† one of his emirs, who went to lodge at a Jew's, turned his host out of the house. Zenghi, to give his troops a lesson in discipline, instantly gave orders for them to quit the town and encamp in the

\* The father of our author had held an important post under Zenghi, and knew him intimately.

† A town on the Tigris, the author's birth-place.

open country, though it was then the winter, and the soldiers were obliged to pitch their tents on ground covered with mud and water.

“He would not suffer his emirs to purchase lands, and he used to say to them, ‘As long as I am master of the country, what need have ye of landed property? The lands and the military benefices which I give you, ought to content you. Is it not true that if I lost my states ye also would lose your possessions? Besides, when the lands are in the hands of the officers of the prince, it gives them an opportunity of abusing their credit to the injury of the people.’

“Doubtless,” says our author, “the prosperity of a state is the fruit of a good administration of justice, and of great care to avert the aggressions of strangers. Whoever knew the principality of Mosul, as it was before the time of Zenghi, can judge for himself how much it gained under his government. My father used to say to me, ‘I remember the condition that Mosul, that mother or queen of cities, was in, at the commencement of the reign of Zenghi. The greater part of the town was in ruins. But in proportion as his authority became strong, the country began to enjoy peace, the evil-doers were restrained, and the Moslems crowded to it. Mosul was then seen to adorn itself with stately edifices. Zenghi built there several palaces; he had the walls of the city raised, and the ditches deepened; he also opened a new gate, which was called Emediyah, from his own name Emed-ed-deen. He also planted gardens around the town. Before his time the fruit there was scarce; grapes were sold by the pound, and when the seller wanted to cut a bunch, he used the knife, taking great care not to let a single one fall to the ground; but in Zenghi’s reign, one could have as much fruit as one wished.’”

Zenghi lived on terms of great familiarity with his officers and ministers. He generally made trial of them himself, by which means it rarely happened that he was mistaken in the characters of the persons whom he selected for places of trust. For example, he had a servant, named Sailletoo, to whom he gave one day some sweetmeats, with directions to keep them for him. Sailletoo took them, and wrapping them up in a napkin



placed them in his bosom. He always carried them about him, that he might have them ready whenever Zenghi should call for them. He thus carried them an entire year. One day Zenghi suddenly said to him, "Where are my sweetmeats?"—"Here they are," replied he, drawing them out of his bosom. Zenghi was greatly pleased. "There is a man," said he, "fit to govern a town." He shortly afterwards gave him the government of a castle, which post he held till the death of the prince.

Zenghi was very charitable; every Friday he distributed a hundred pieces of gold in alms among the poor, beside what he gave on the ordinary week-days, through the hands of a confidential person. Our author tells us that, as he was riding out one day, his horse stumbled with him, and had like to fall. He immediately called to him one of his emirs, named Beliman, and said some words to him, which the emir did not hear, and which he did not dare to make him repeat. He instantly became alarmed, went straight home, and began to take his leave of his wife and children, fully resolved to go and seek refuge in some foreign country. His wife, in amazement, asked what he had done, what crime he had committed. Beliman told her the whole affair. "Nassir-ed-deen (*Victory of Religion*) has a friendship for thee; go to him, and do as he will direct thee."—"I fear," said Beliman, "he will be against my taking to flight, and in that case I am a lost man." His wife however persisted, and at last prevailed on him to go. When Nassir-ed-deen had heard the story, he began to laugh, and said to Beliman, "Here, take this purse of gold, and go with it to the prince. That is what he bade thee to do."—"Allah, Allah!" cried Beliman; "I recover my spirits; I come again to life."—"Go, be not afraid," said Nassir-ed-deen; "he wanted nothing else of thee." Beliman carried the money to Zenghi, who bade him distribute it among the poor. When he had done so, he went back to Nassir-ed-deen, and said to him, "But how didst thou know that he wanted this purse?"—" 'Tis his custom on such a day as this to distribute that sum among the poor. He usually sends to me for it the evening before, but this time he had forgotten it. I heard that his horse had stumbled, and had like to have thrown him, and also knew that he

had told thee to come to me, and I judged that he had recollected the alms. It was for this reason that I told thee to take the purse to him."

The preceding anecdote shows the awe which people stood in of Zenghi. The following one is a still stronger proof of it:—One day while Zenghi was at Jezireh, he went with a small retinue to take an airing on the river. He found the boatman asleep. One waked him, saying, "Come! to thy post!" The boatman looked, and beheld Zenghi, and instantly dropped dead. All efforts to restore him to animation were unavailing.\*

"Zenghi," says our author, "was terrible in regard to the respect due to women. To offer an insult to a woman, especially to the wife of a soldier, was one of those faults which he never pardoned. He used to say on this subject, 'My soldiers never quit me in my wars; I am the cause of their living away from their families. If we do not take care to prevent any attempt being made on the honour of their wives, the women will be lost, they will give themselves up to vice.' Here is an instance which proves the horror he had of this kind of crimes, and his detestation of them. He had given the government of Jezireh to one of his emirs, named Barbati, a man who enjoyed his utmost confidence. He heard that the emir was leading a disreputable life, and devoting himself to the other sex. He instantly called Salah-eddeen (*Safety of Religion*), his great chamberlain (*Emir hajeb*), and ordered him to set out immediately, and enter Jezireh suddenly, and seize Barbati, mutilate him, put out his eyes, and then set him on a cross. Salah-eddeen set out at once and came to Jezireh. He behaved kindly at first to Barbati, and said to him, 'Our master salutes thee; he wishes to exalt thee in honour and dignity, and nominates thee to the government of Aleppo. Get ready to set forth; thou wilt go down the Tigris with thy goods and come to Mosul to pay thy respects to him.' The wretch believed these words, and was quite enchanted. He instantly had all his goods, small and

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\* It was probably this dread which he inspired that caused Zenghi's death, by giving his slaves the energy of despair. The same was the case with Aga Mohammed, the uncle and predecessor of the present king of Persia (1834), who was assassinated in a precisely similar manner by his own slaves.

great, put on board a boat, but the moment he was prepared to depart, he was seized, and underwent the punishment designed for him. All his goods were confiscated, the smallest thing not being omitted. From that moment the emirs took care not to imitate his conduct. Now admire the wisdom of Zenghi, observe how well his measures were taken. He chose his chief emir for this affair; he directed him to have recourse to artifice, lest the governor should be mad enough to revolt, and give occasion to some disorder. Observe also the great prudence of Salah-ed-deen; he began by deceiving the wretch, he promised him a magnificent government, he made him bring forth all his wealth, and when he saw that there was nothing wanting, he seized him. Is it not evident that if he had acted in a different manner a good portion of Barbatî's property would have been put beyond recovery?"

Few of our readers, we apprehend, will feel disposed to join in these eulogies of Zenghi and Salah-ed-deen; but Orientals must, to a certain extent, be judged by Oriental maxims, and the nature of the Eastern governments does not permit of the regular administration of justice in the case of great offenders, to which we are accustomed in Europe. The same was the case in the West during the middle ages, and hence we so often read of powerful noblemen being assassinated by order of their sovereign, such being the only way to punish them for their crimes, as their power enabled them to set the ordinary tribunals at defiance. Zenghi, as a good ruler, esteemed it his first duty to maintain the peace and tranquillity of his states, and he probably knew that a rebellion would be the consequence of his proceeding openly against a man whose guilt he had ascertained. We may blame the system of Oriental society, but we should be slow absolutely to condemn the man who acted as he thought for the best.

On the whole, viewed as an Oriental prince, the most valuable traits in whose character, in the eyes of his subjects, are generosity, justice, and extreme rigour in the punishment of offenders, Zenghi\* is not undeserving of

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\* The Arabian writers apply the term *Shahed*, i. e. Martyr, both to Zenghi and

the praises bestowed on him by the Eastern historians, and we may safely give him a place among the great characters of the times of the Crusades.

#### DESTRUCTION OF EDESSA.

SEIF-ED-DEEN\* (*Sword of Religion*), and Noor-ed-deen (*Light of Religion*), the sons of Zenghi, seized on his dominions as soon as they learned his death. The former fixed himself at Mosul, the latter at Aleppo. They mutually distrusted each other, but, fearing that their enemies might take advantage of their disunion, they agreed to have an interview and arrange their differences. Seif-ed-deen advanced towards Syria, and Noor-ed-deen set forth to meet him. When the latter, who was the younger, beheld his brother at a distance, he dismounted from his horse, and he bent down and kissed the ground when he was come nigh unto him. Seif-ed-deen also alighted, and they embraced and shed tears. Then said Seif-ed-deen, "Why didst thou not come sooner? Wert thou in fear of me?—Nay, my brother, what thou didst fear did never come into my mind. Of what good would life, of what good would the whole world be unto me, if I were capable of doing injury to my brother?" They gave each other many marks of affection, and then departed each to his own abode.†

Shortly after, Noor-ed-deen received intelligence of the revolt of Edessa; for when Count Joscelin heard of the death of Zenghi, he wrote to the people of that town, calling upon them revolt, and admit him into the city. In an evil hour for them they consented, and Joscelin was but six days in the town when Noor-ed-deen appeared with ten thousand men before its gates. As the citadel was in the hands of the Turks, the only hope of safety for the Edessenes lay in flight, and in the middle of the night, men, women, and children, they quitted the town; but before they were all out of it, they were assailed both within and without the walls; the arrows fell like hail, the awful stillness of the night rendered more

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his son Noor-ed-deen, because, though neither of them was actually slain in fighting for the faith, their merit was as great as that of the actual Martyrs.

\* Called Saphadinus by the historians.

† See the meeting of Esau and Jacob, Gen. xxxiii.



dreadful the shout of the victor, the wail of the victim. "O cloud of wrath!" exclaims the Syrian historian, "O day without mercy! O night of death! dawn of hell, and day of destruction, which arose over the hapless Edessenes, children of a once enviable city." The Latin knights, and about two thousand of the Edessenes, alone forced their way through, but most of these last fell in the pursuit. Joscelin reached Samosata a fugitive, and alone.

It was computed that thirty thousand Christians had perished in the two captures of Edessa. Noor-ed-deen treated the unhappy city with the utmost rigour; sixteen thousand people were sold into slavery, the town and citadel were destroyed, and only a few poor people were left to dwell among the ruins.

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Such was the fate of Edessa; and thus within less than half a century from the conquest were lost the Latin possessions beyond the Euphrates. But another great crusade is in preparation in the West; the voice of St. Bernard, the illustrious abbot of Clairvaux, is rousing the warriors of France and Germany to arms for the defence of the Holy Land. New armies of pilgrims are assembling, and monarchs are about to lead them over the Bosphorus, to combat the enemies of Christ.

## THE SECOND CRUSADE.\*

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### STATE OF THINGS IN FRANCE.

THE dismay in the Christian settlements in the East caused by the loss of Edessa, and the prospect of the consolidation of the Mohammedan power in Syria, was necessarily very great. Like all colonists, the Latins naturally looked for aid in time of need to the parent state. Accordingly the most pressing letters from the queen, the patriarch, the prelates, and barons of Jerusalem, were brought to Europe, which pictured the forlorn condition of the holy places, and implored the aid of the valiant knights of France.

But times were different now from what they had been half a century before. Then the East was in a great measure an unknown land; imagination was therefore at liberty to cast over it her illusive hues, and the simple eloquence of a Peter the Hermit sufficed to rouse nations and princes to arms. Now the illusion was dispelled; the toils and dangers of the march through Asia were well-known; narratives of the sufferings of the first crusaders had been composed; there were few families of which some member had not joined one of the various armies or caravans of pilgrims to the Holy Land, and who had not either perished on the road, or returned home with a dismal tale of sufferings undergone. It was also seen to what poverty many of the first crusaders had reduced their families, by selling their lands to equip themselves for expeditions in which they had only found their death.

The belief of the necessity, though not of the merit, of pilgrimage, was perhaps also abated. In France piety had at this time made itself a new vent. It was believed

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\* The principal authorities for the Second Crusade are, beside the Archbishop of Tyre, Odo de Diogilo (*Deuil*) *De Exped. Lud. VII. in Orientem*, Otto of Freysingen *De Gest. Frid. I.*, and the Greek writers Cinnamus and Nicetas.

that the erection of stately churches, especially if in honour of the Virgin-mother of God, was a work most acceptable in the sight of Heaven and therefore of avail for the removal of sin. Pious fraternities, composed of all ages, ranks, and sexes, were formed for this purpose; into these none were admitted who did not contritely acknowledge and do penance for their sins, and promise unfeigned Christian love to their brethren, and obedience to the priests who were set over the work. Then might be seen men and women of noble birth, laying aside all worldly pomp and pride, and yoking themselves, like beasts of burden, to the waggons laden with provisions, or with lime, stone, and timber, and other things necessary for the building, and dragging them over hills and dales, and through the streams of water. The utmost silence prevailed among them; not a voice was to be heard while the waggons were in motion; when they halted to rest, confessions of sin and prayers for grace alone met the ear. Before each train of waggons banners were displayed, and trumpets blew the signal for setting forward. When they reached the church, the waggons were drawn up in a circle round it, and the faithful kept watch at them, singing psalms and hymns all through the night: waxen tapers and other lights were placed on each waggon, and the sick and feeble were laid on them; the relics of the saints were brought forth, and processions of the clergy, followed by the people, went round imploring favour of God and the Virgin for these afflicted persons. It was believed that these prayers were not in vain, that the sick were restored to health, the dumb spake, and demons departed from those of whom they had taken possession. Enthusiasm and superstition were at their height, and men thought they beheld the effects which they wished to see.

A people with whom piety was taking this humble direction, might seem more difficult to excite to the employment of arms in the cause of Heaven than the generation which first marched to the East, and, as we have observed, the eloquence of the Hermit might have produced no effect upon them; but in the economy of the world we may perceive, that where an effect is to be produced the fitting agent is always at hand. The Western Christians

were to march again in arms to Asia, and the man whose voice was adequate to rouse them was abiding among them in the stillness of his monastery.\*

#### SAINT BERNARD.

IN the twelfth century a perceptible change was taking place in the state of things in the West of Europe. The intercourse between nations had increased, knowledge was extended, literature began to be more cultivated, and mind to exert its proper influence, and bend brute force beneath its yoke. One of the strongest instances of this altered state of things is, the sight of pontiffs and kings hearkening with reverence and yielding a willing obedience to the words of a monk of delicate frame, of simple life, but of superior mind and of commanding eloquence.

St. Bernard was born either four or five years before the Hermit preached the first crusade. His father, Tecelin the Blond, was a Burgundian knight of noble extraction, lord of Fontaines, near Dijon; his mother, Eliza, the daughter of the lord Montbard, had been destined by her father to the cloister; but in her fifteenth year she yielded her hand to the suit of Tecelin the Blond. Their marriage was happy; the husband was upright and honourable; the wife, amid her household duties, retained the piety which was to have been exercised in a convent. She dedicated to the Lord, as soon as they were born, her six sons, and one daughter, all of whom, contrary to the usage of persons of her rank in society, she suckled herself. Like many pious, well-meaning, but injudicious parents, Dame Eliza thought the mode of making her children pious was to bring them up with the utmost strictness; she kept them therefore constant to their prayers and spiritual exercises; made them live on hard fare, and practise all the austerities of the cloister. She set them, through life, in her own person, an example of the most rigorous piety and self-denial; and she passed her latter days in visiting and attending on the sick and poor, and performing offices of real Christian love. She died in tranquillity, her bed surrounded by the ministers

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\* For what precedes, and the subsequent account of St. Bernard, our immediate authority has been Wilken's *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*.



of religion, who chanted litanies, in which she joined as long as she had sufficient strength to articulate.

As might naturally be expected, Dame Eliza's hopes of seeing her children become patterns of piety were, for the time at least, disappointed. The world, it would appear, to be renounced, must be first known and enjoyed. In the eyes of four of her sons, the gaiety of dress, the pomp of courts, and the animation of martial exercises, seemed more suitable to youth, than fastings, prayers, and bodily castigations: and her daughter Humbelina, says the biographer of the Saint, clung with all her heart to the vanities of the world.

Not so Bernard, the third son: religion seemed his destination from his birth. His mother, we are told, ere he came to the light, was informed in a dream that God had chosen him for a zealous watchman of the Church against her foes, and one whose tongue would heal the diseases of the souls of many.\* On this dream the youthful Bernard often pondered after the death of his pious mother, and her image, warning him against the seductions of the world, and complaining that he was leaving the path on which she had placed him, to go after the darkness of human wisdom, hovered constantly before his eyes. His elder brothers, who were in the service of the duke of Burgundy, sharing in all the tumults of feudal life, besought him not to think of withdrawing himself totally from the world, and exhorted him to apply himself to the study of the scholastic philosophy then in such high repute. At their desire he attended a celebrated school at Chatillon-sur-Seine, and here he learned to despise the vanity of the science, while he acquired those dialectic weapons with which he afterwards combated it, and a degree of readiness in writing the Latin language beyond what was usual at the time. He also, while here, made himself so familiar with the Scriptures, that he smote his astonished adversaries with texts of holy writ as with thunderbolts.

Bernard was a youth of a handsome person and a most agreeable countenance; his hair was fair, his voice pleasing, and his tongue eloquent. His virtue was therefore

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\* She had dreamed that she bare a barking white dog with a reddish back. It was interpreted for her as above, by a monk whom she consulted about it. The reason why the dog was so coloured will presently appear.

frequently exposed to temptation ; and his biographers, in their simple style, narrate various instances of his trials and victories over the flesh. These temptations however had only the effect of convincing him that it was his duty to fly the world, and not to continue to abide with the serpent. One day he was going to visit his brothers, who were in the camp of the duke of Burgundy, beleaguering the castle of Grancey. As he went along, his thoughts were employed on the follies and vanities of the world ; and he at last was so completely overcome with a longing after the things appertaining to Heaven, that he entered a church on the wayside, cast himself down before the altar, and with tears and prayers devoted himself anew to the service of God.

His resolution was now finally taken, and he was not to be diverted from it. His kinsmen and friends listened with astonishment to the fervour and eloquence with which he spake of God and heavenly things. Soon his uncle Galderic, lord of Touillon, near Autun, was seen renouncing his wealthy possessions to devote himself to Heaven with Bernard. His younger brothers, Andrew and Bartholomew, did not long resist his exhortations ; nay, his elder brothers, who had so long opposed his embracing the monastic life, declared their intention now of embracing it themselves. The only obstacle was the wife of Guy, the eldest, who refused obstinately to assent to a divorce from him. In despair he was going to renounce his worldly goods, and to support her and himself by the labour of his hands. Bernard, in reliance on the mercy of God, ventured to assure his brother that she would either change her mind, or die ere long. This, we are assured, was his first prophecy. In effect, she shortly afterwards did fall sick, and coming to what was then thought a better way of thinking, she sent for Bernard, and consented to her husband's taking the monastic vows. She then recovered, and became a nun in a convent at Dijon.

Bernard, his brothers and relations, now retired to a house at Chatillon-sur-Seine, where, without quitting their secular habit, they passed six months in such devotion and austerity as excited the astonishment and admiration of every one who heard of them. An invincible desire of joining their society seized all who beheld them ;

and those whose secular engagements prevented their so doing, bitterly bewailed their untoward fortune. The power of Bernard's eloquence was such that mothers were obliged to conceal their sons, wives their husbands, people in general their friends, lest, carried away by his persuasions to a holy life in celibacy and the cloister, they should abandon the world and all their social duties.

Thirty persons had now joined the little society at Châtillon, and in the year 1113, the twenty-second year of his age, Bernard led them to the convent of Cîteaux, then under its third abbot, Stephen Harding, an Englishman. The rigid rule prescribed by its first abbot had hitherto deterred men from entering this society, and its few members were mourning over its condition. But just at this time a brother, who was on his death-bed, had a dream which raised their hopes. He saw in a vision a great number of men washing their clothes in the brook which ran by the church; and one appeared who told him the name of that brook was Hinnom. From this the brethren drew consoling auguries, which began to receive their completion when Bernard and his friends appeared among them. As several of the new brethren had wives who also wished to embrace a life of holy seclusion, a nunnery, to receive them, was erected at Juilly, near Langres, which, strange as it may perhaps seem, soon contained within its walls Bernard's sister Humbelina! For coming one day tricked out in worldly pomp and vanity to visit her pious brothers in their convent, she was with harsh words repelled by her brother Andrew, who came to the convent-gate to receive her, and Bernard refused even to see her.\* This brought her to reflection, and as a humbled and a contrite sinner she sought comfort and advice from Bernard. He gently reminded her of the vanity and folly of the world, and set before her the example of her godly mother. She promised on the spot to make her mother's life her model; and two years afterwards, not deeming even this sufficient, she, with the consent of her husband, took the veil. Tecelin himself, too, soon abandoned the world and its vanities, and joined his pious sons in their cloister: and

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\* Andrew, in allusion to her gaudy garments and her worldly mind, called her a wrapped-up piece of dung (*stercus involutum*), and Bernard sent to say that he could not see her, as she was one of the Devil's nets to catch souls with.

Bernard thus had the satisfaction of seeing his whole family withdrawn from the world and its allurements.

The abbey at Citeaux was soon not large enough to contain all the brethren whom the zealous labours of Bernard drew thither, and members were sent from it to several newly-founded convents. The most famous of these was one which was erected in 1115, in a rugged retired valley of Burgundy near the river Aube, named the Wormwood-Vale (*Vallis absinthialis*), either from its ungenial aspect, or from its being the haunt of robbers, who sallied from it to plunder unwary travellers. When it became the abode of pious men, it received the more inviting appellation of the Bright Valley, Clairvaux (*Clara Vallis*). Over this religious colony the abbot of Citeaux set the youthful Bernard, whose zeal and activity, notwithstanding his delicate health, justified the wisdom of the abbot's choice. Clairvaux soon exceeded Citeaux in the fame of rigour and piety. Its young abbot set his monks an example of everything in his own person; he required no austerity or self-denial of them, which, weak as his constitution was, he did not practise himself. Beech-leaves were their ordinary vegetables; and their bread of barley, rye, and tares, was shown as a curiosity in the world by a member of another convent, who had been entertained by them. The miracles, which the ignorance and credulity of his admirers, and not his own vanity or hypocrisy, ascribed to Bernard, also tended greatly to augment the fame of Clairvaux, and new members continually sued for admission. Another convent was built in a more agreeable part of the valley, and it was speedily filled. During the time that Bernard was over the abbey of Clairvaux, not less than one hundred and sixty colonies were sent out of it to different parts of Christendom; some even so far as Denmark and Sweden. Several cardinal-bishops and cardinal-priests went forth from its hallowed precincts; and Bernard had at length the satisfaction of seeing one of his monks ascend the papal throne, under the title of Eugenius III., who lent a willing ear, amidst the power and splendour with which he was invested, to the counsels and admonitions of his former superior.

Those who left Clairvaux to settle in other places, spread far and wide the fame of the wisdom and piety of its abbot.



In difficult cases of conscience his counsel was sought by visits and letters from all parts of the Christian world; and his answers display mildness, sagacity, and a degree of good sense and judgment in the treatment of delicate points hardly to be expected in the twelfth century. Princes and nobles also sought the aid of his wisdom on various occasions; and the polish and refinement of his manners, owing to his noble birth and early education, made his counsels doubly agreeable to them. But though he went into the world, and was well acquainted with its affairs, his heart was always with his monks at Clairvaux, and, when, among them, he used to indulge in innocent sports and jocularities, as a relaxation from the serious thoughts which habitually occupied his mind.

In the year 1130 the party of the anti-pope Anacletus was strong and turbulent in France, particularly in Guienne. The lawful pontiff, Innocent III., fixed upon the abbot of Clairvaux as the person most capable of restoring union and peace to the Gallic church, and he joined him in commission with the bishop of Soissons for that purpose. Bernard justified his expectations. He assailed Gerard, bishop of Angoulême, the legate of the false pope, and exposed the paltry feeling of wounded vanity which led him to adopt the course he had taken. He rested not till he had deposed the schismatic bishops whom Gerard had appointed, and had withdrawn from them the support of the temporal princes. The following circumstances, which occurred at this time, will show how well Bernard knew how to work on the superstition, as we would term it, the religious feelings, in his eyes, of his contemporaries.

At the council of Parthenay, composed of orthodox prelates, and at which William, duke of Guienne, was present, that prince agreed to acknowledge Innocent as the rightful pope; but, as he refused to withdraw his protection from the schismatic bishops, he remained under the ban of the church, and could not be admitted to the sacrifice of the mass. Accordingly, while Bernard was celebrating mass within the church, the duke, as excommunicate, stood without the doors. When the mass was concluded, and he had blessed the people, Bernard came forth, his face lighted up with pious zeal, and bearing the consecrated host on a small plate: approaching the duke, he said

with an awful voice, "Lo! thou heedest not the prayers of the ministers of the church, who labour to bring thee to the right way. The Son of the Virgin, thy Judge, now cometh before thee, into whose hands thy soul will one time come: Darest thou to despise *Him* also?" All who were present wept aloud at these words; the duke trembled in every limb, and at last sank motionless to the ground. As his knights were raising him, Bernard drew near, jogged him with his foot, and bade him stand up and listen to the word of God. "Here," said he, "is the rightful bishop of Poitiers, whom thou hast hitherto persecuted; reconcile thyself with him by the holy kiss of peace, and conduct him to his see." The duke obeyed, and from that day became one of the most zealous maintainers of the cause of Innocent II. The influence of Bernard was equally great in Germany, and at his desire the emperor Lothaire led an army into Italy, to the aid of the lawful pontiff.

The fame of Bernard's success in France made the friends of Innocent in Italy desirous that he should cross the Alps, and restore tranquillity to the church in that country also. Innocent prevailed on him to accompany him thither in 1132; and in every town which he entered he was received as an angel of the Lord, and Innocent acknowledged as the lawful successor of St. Peter. He thence proceeded to Germany, to reconcile the emperor Lothaire with Conrad of Hohenstauffen; and this being accomplished he returned to Italy, to be present at the council which the pope had summoned to Pisa. His progress was like a triumph; the people of Milan, in particular, received him with every demonstration of reverence, and submitted themselves to Innocent II. In his third visit to Italy, in 1137, he had the satisfaction to see Victor, who had succeeded Anacletus, who was now dead, come to him by night, lay aside the symbols of his usurped authority, and entreat him to lead him to the feet of the lawful pontiff. His seven years' labours were thus at length crowned with complete success.

St. Bernard was, all through life, the determined opposer of innovation in the doctrines and discipline of the church. He combated, and reduced to silence, the renowned Peter Abelard, whose acuteness and vanity led

him to attempt the explanation of things which cannot be explained, and who thereby fell under the suspicion of maintaining dangerous and heretical opinions. He also opposed with vigour those who in the south of France declaimed against infant baptism, and some other rites of the church. In fine, his mother's dream was fully accomplished in him; and he was the most active and zealous watchman of the church.

It should not be omitted, to St. Bernard's honour, that the highest dignities of the church were proffered to him. Twice did the clergy of Genoa invite him to come and be their head; the episcopal thrones of Milan and Rheims, Châlons and Langres, were at his disposal; but he loved better his solitude at Clairvaux, than all the pomp and glitter of the world.

In St. Bernard we may view the model of an orthodox divine, according to the times in which he lived; his natural disposition mild, charitable, and benevolent, zealously attached to his church, a sincere believer in all that she taught, and devoting all the powers of his mind to their support. He sought not to make discoveries of new senses of Scripture, or new systems of theology; his delight was to find out arguments in defence of what was established, and to enforce them with all the powers of his eloquence and all the acuteness of his intellect. His fame therefore and influence were great with his contemporaries, while, such is our nature, in the eyes of posterity he perhaps shines less brilliantly than the bold and fearless inquirer Peter Abelard, and with many, excites less admiration than the zealous reformer, Arnald of Brescia, whose political principles he combated as vigorously as he did the theological subtleties of Arnald's master, Abelard.\*

#### LOUIS THE YOUNG.

CHIVALRY we are told had now degenerated, and lost its pristine dignity and purity; knights, instead of combating in the cause of the widow and the orphan, and showing their love and fear of God by respect for his ministers, robbed and plundered all indiscriminately.

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\* The preceding account of St. Bernard is furnished by his biographers, who were of course his panegyrists.

That such was the character of the chivalry of that age, we cannot doubt, for we have abundant evidence of it; that in the darker ages it had existed in greater purity, is what, without evidence, and guided solely by the known principles of human nature, we may justly question. At all events, conscience then, as ever, asserted her rights, and many brave knights felt that in plundering the church, the widow, and the orphan, they were acting wrong. The load of guilt thus contracted weighed heavy on their souls, and they would gladly shake it off. For this purpose, an expedition in arms to the East, in the service of the Lord, seemed most efficacious and agreeable to those whose martial spirit perhaps despised the humbler piety of dragging materials for the erection of pompous temples to the Mother of God.

The young king of France, Louis VII., partook of these feelings. This prince, named the Young, to distinguish him from his father, Louis the Fat, who had associated him with himself in his royal dignity when he was but eleven years of age, was at this time only in his twenty-sixth year. He was possessed of more extent of territory than any of his predecessors of the line of Capet, for by his marriage in 1137, with Eleanor, daughter and heiress of duke William X. of Aquitaine, he was become the lord of Guienne, Saintonges, and Poitou, that is, of the country from the Pyrenees to the Loire. He was thus wealthy and powerful; he was moreover brave and pious; and he had committed an offence which called for reparation. It was on the following occasion.

On the death of the archbishop of Bourges, Louis, as was the custom in the ancient domains of the crown, presented to the chapter the person whom he wished to be elected; but the chancellor of the Romish Church prevailed on the Pope, Innocent II., to appoint his nephew, Peter de la Châtre, to that see. Louis was enraged at this act of usurpation on the part of the court of Rome; he swore that he would never let La Châtre take possession of the see, and he forced him to seek refuge with Thibaud, count of Champagne and Blois. The pope laid under interdict every place to which the king should come; Louis, on his side, had recourse to arms, and attacked the old count of Champagne, with whom he had



also other causes of quarrel. During this war the king, in 1142, made an attack on Vitry, one of the best of his opponent's castles. Having taken it, he set fire to it, and the flames, happening to spread more rapidly than had been expected, reached the principal church, in which the greater part of the people had sought refuge. No means of escape were attainable, and men, women, and children, to the number of thirteen hundred, perished in the flames. The king heard their shrieks when it was too late to save, and when he viewed their bodies half consumed by the flames he was struck with horror and remorse at what he could not but regard as his own act. He sought, through the mediation of Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable of Clugni, a reconciliation with the church; he offered advantageous terms of peace to the count of Champagne, and was willing to admit La Châtre to the archbishopric of Bourges, provided the pope would release him from the oath he had made to the contrary. This negotiation was protracted, and we cannot perhaps acquit St. Bernard of some duplicity in his dealing between the king and the pope. It was not concluded when Innocent II. died, in the autumn of 1143; his successor, Celestine II., however, took off the interdict which had been laid on France.

Still Louis' conscience was not at rest; he felt that he had taken an oath contrary to the orders of the church, and that he had not kept it; he considered himself as in some measure guilty of all the sacrileges and acts of violence committed by his soldiery in the war with the count of Champagne, especially the burning of the church at Vitry; his having been under the censure of the church during three years had, as he thought, left a moral stain upon him, which required something further in the way of purification; his brother Philip, he recollected, who had been associated in royalty with his father before him, had made a vow to devote himself to the defence of the Holy Land, and, as he had succeeded him on the throne, he deemed himself bound to perform all his engagements. All these various motives operating on the young monarch's mind, determined him, when the intelligence of the fall of Edessa arrived, to assume the cross and prepare to lead an army to the East.

## PREACHING OF THE CRUSADE IN FRANCE.

AT Christmas, in the year 1145, the king of France held his plenary court at Bourges, whither, at the call of their prince, repaired a numerous assemblage of the nobles of the realm. Here the bishop of Langres, who was just returned from the Holy Land, arose, and in glowing terms set before them the helpless condition of their brethren in the East, and the power and the barbarous ferocity of the Turks, calling upon the knights of France to arm in the sacred cause. The king at once declared his resolution to assume the cross, and invited his nobles to follow his example. But his more prudent barons prayed him not to be precipitate in engaging in a measure which might prove injurious to himself and his realm, but to wait for the advice of the Holy Father and of the pious abbot of Clairvaux. The king complied with their desire: an embassy was despatched to Rome, to ask counsel of the pontiff, and Vezelay, in the county of Nevers, was appointed to be the place of meeting for a more general assembly at the ensuing festival of Easter.

But if the prudent councillors of Louis expected to find an ally in the pope, they were disappointed. Eugenius IV., who then occupied the papal throne, looked forward to the lustre which a crusade, headed by a potent monarch, would cast on his pontificate. It is not unlikely, too, that he expected the efforts of Christendom in favour of the Holy Land to be crowned with success. He therefore, in his reply, highly commended the zeal of Louis, and expressed his regret that the troubled state of the holy see\* prevented himself from being the first to put his hand to the sacred work. He wrote a letter to the king, exhorting him and his knights to lose no time in taking arms in the cause of Heaven, granting, in as full terms as Urban II. had done, remission of their sins to all who did so; taking their families and their property under the protection of the church, releasing them from all interest for their debts, permitting vassals to pledge their fiefs without asking the consent of their su-

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\* This was caused by the followers of Arnald of Brescia, who were endeavouring to transfer the temporalities of the papacy to the Patrician and Senate which they had set up at Rome.

perior lords. He finally charged them not to spend their money on hawks and hounds, and costly garments for the indulgence of their vanity, but to buy with it the best of arms and horses, and what else was needful for their conflict with the infidels.

At the same time Eugenius appointed his former abbot, Bernard of Clairvaux, to be the preacher of the new crusade, and excite the warriors of France to arms. No fitter instrument could have been selected, for not only did Bernard enjoy a degree of influence and consideration such as no man of the time possessed, but the preservation of the holy places was with him a solemn duty, and he had always taken a peculiar interest in the welfare of the kingdom of Jerusalem. Pilgrimage was a duty as sacred in his eyes as in those of his contemporaries, and though, with the good sense which distinguished him, he dissuaded prelates and those who had weighty duties to perform at home from rambling to the Holy Land, he encouraged the zeal of those who, free from important engagements, journeyed thither at the impulse of real piety.

At the time when he received the mandate of the vicar of Christ to rouse Christendom again to arms against the heathen, he was residing in his abbey, which he had rarely quitted for the last three years. His bodily powers were nearly exhausted by the fatigues he had endured and the austerities he had practised, and he was calmly awaiting the moment of his dissolution. But, at the call of him whom he held it sin to disobey, he rallied his remaining strength, and recalling the vigour and animation of his younger days, and in full reliance on Him who alone giveth strength, prepared to set about the task enjoined him.

At Easter, 1146, assembled at Vezelay, clergy, knights, and people, in such multitudes that no building, and even no street or square of the town, could contain them; for the intelligence that the renowned abbot of Clairvaux was to be the preacher of a new crusade, had awakened the attention of all France. A wooden stage was erected on the declivity of a hill, between the town of Vezelay and Ecouenne on the way to Auxerre, from which the preacher might address the people.

Bernard commenced by distributing to the king and

his young queen, to the counts Thierry of Flanders and Henry of Blois, and others who had pledged themselves at Bourges, the crosses which had been sent them by the pope. He then ascended the stage, where the king took his place at his side. Pointing out to the people their youthful and pious monarch marked with the cross of salvation, he read aloud the letter of the pope; he commenced an exhortation, but suddenly arose on all sides a cry of *The cross! the cross!* and such numbers pressed forward to receive crosses from his hand, that he was obliged to scatter rather than distribute these sacred badges. Each day the number of those who took the vow increased, and to prepare crosses was Bernard's sole occupation while he remained at Vezelay. To gratify the desire of those who coveted something more peculiarly his own, he had to tear up his very garments and make crosses out of them. The number of the Crossed was greatly augmented by the reports which were spread every day of the miracles performed by the preacher. Ere the assembly broke up, the following spring was fixed on as the time for setting forth. Each of the crossed returned home to make preparations, all feuds were reconciled, and brotherly love mutually promised.

In the interval, king Louis wrote to the kings of Hungary and Sicily, and to the Greek emperor, requesting a safe passage and an open market for the soldiers of the cross in their dominions. Bernard himself wrote to the Greek emperor,\* calling upon him to further the pious enterprise of the Latin Christians; and at the same time, with his usual prudence and knowledge of human nature, requesting him to confer the honour of knighthood on the young count of Champagne, the bearer of his and the king's letters.

Meantime Bernard was not inactive; he visited various parts of France, and whither he could not go himself he sent his letters. The success of his exhortations was such, that he was able to write thus to the pope: "You have

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\* "The earth," says he in this letter, "quakes and trembles because the King of Heaven has lost his land, the land on which his feet once stood. For it is nearly come to this, that the foes of the Lord break into his city, and even to that glorious tomb where the virgin-blossom of Mary was wrapt in linen and spices, and where the first and greatest flower on our earth rose up again." Are not the ideas here somewhat feudal?



commanded, I have obeyed, and the authority of the director has fructified my obedience. For I have announced, and they are multiplied beyond number. The towns and castles are emptied, and seven women now hardly find one man whom they may lay hold on; so do widows everywhere remain, though their husbands are alive."

#### PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS.

THE fervour thus excited for the cause of God soon took, as in the first Crusade, an ill direction; and those supposed enemies of the Saviour who were at hand, were forthwith marked out for slaughter by those who were arming in his cause. The Jews had been always hated for their obstinate rejection of Christianity; the enormous usury which they exacted greatly contributed to augment the odium against them, which was increased still more by their receiving the sacred utensils of churches from the sacrilegious wretches who had stolen them, and converting them, as was believed, to the most abominable uses. Those who were in their debt were anxious to cancel their obligations by the death of the usurers; fanatics maintained that the time for destroying them from off the face of the earth was now come; even moderate men were disposed to think that it availed little to go to combat the enemies of Christ in a distant land, while his worst foes were left unpunished at home. Peter the Venerable of Clugni, a man of mild disposition, wrote to King Louis, giving it as his opinion, that though it was not lawful to deprive them of that life which God had given them as worse than death, they might be justly stripped of the wealth which they had acquired, not by honest industry, but by overreaching and oppressing the Christians, and that it might be employed in a manner acceptable to God, in the war against the Saracens. In Germany, a monk named Radulf, who had uncalled assumed the office of a preacher of the Cross, was exciting the people of the cities on the Rhine to the murder of the Jews. Numbers of the devoted race were massacred, and but for the humanity of King Conrad, who gave them shelter in his towns and castles, and the compassion or love of gain of other princes, who, on receiving large sums of money, admitted

them into their strongholds, few might have escaped the rage of the fanatics.

The real superiority of St. Bernard's character appears in a strong light on this occasion. Aloof from vulgar prejudices, he stood forward as the advocate of justice and mercy. He exerted all the powers of his eloquence; he reminded the fanatics how much more glorious would be the victory of the church over the Jews, if she converted them from their errors, than if she destroyed them with the edge of the sword; and that the church would not, as she did every Good Friday, pray to God from sunrise to sunset for their conversion, if she did not believe that God would yet take the veil from their hearts. He wrote to the archbishop of Mentz, to whose diocese Radulf belonged, reprobating in the strongest terms the conduct of that monk; and when he found he did not desist from exciting the people to murder and pillage, though it was now the end of autumn, he took a journey to Germany, and meeting Radulf at Mentz, he chid him severely; and though the people murmured loudly, and were only restrained by their respect for Bernard's character from raising a tumult in his favour, he obliged him to return to his convent.

#### JEWISH ACCOUNT OF THE PERSECUTION.

WE are writing, not a history of the Crusades, but a view of the times during which they occurred, and of the principal characters who then appeared in the world. We therefore draw from writers of all countries such materials as are suited to that purpose: Greek, Latin, and Arabic authorities appear in abundance, but the present is the only occasion on which a Hebrew authority is accessible. As it describes the present persecution with some minuteness, and gives the Jewish side of the picture, we will make some extracts from it.\*

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\* The book is named 'The Chronicles of the kings of France and the kings of the house of Ottoman, by the learned Rabbi Joseph ben Joshua ben Meir, the priest out of Spain, and in it are written all the wars and events and transactions which befell in the kingdoms of Edom and Ishmael since they became a people, and in it are related all the persecutions and migrations of the children of our people in the kingdoms of France and Spain and other countries. The Lord protect us!' It was printed at Venice in 1554, and at Amsterdam in 1730. There is no translation of it; we give the following extracts from Wilken's German version of a portion of it in his *History of the Crusades*.

Having mentioned the fall of Edessa, and the preaching of the Crusade by Bernard, the author thus proceeds:—

“Moreover, this year was for the house of Jacob a time of trouble and of distress. It was empty and void and waste; the knees smote together; there was pain in the loins, and their countenance gathered blackness.\* For the priest Rudolf came to Germany to search through the land, and to mark with the warp and the woof† those who had bound themselves to go unto Jerusalem. This man meditated evil against the Jews who had been delivered from the former persecutions, and he said in his heart, ‘It is now the time to speak and to act against the people, which is not a widow, to destroy, to strangle, and to extirpate them.’ He went evermore about and cried in the name of his God, that they should go unto Jerusalem; and whithersoever he came he deceived the dogs (*i. e.* the Christians), by saying, ‘Avenge our God on his enemies who are here amongst us, and then will we set forth.’ When the Jews heard this, their heart became fearful; trembling seized them and anguish, like a woman in travail;‡ there remained no courage in them before the rage of the tyrant who was resolved to destroy them. Then cried they unto God in these words, ‘Behold! O Lord, fifty years (so many as make a year of jubilee) are not yet past since our blood was spilt like water, to the glory of thy great and strong and fearful Name, in the day of the great slaughter.§ Wilt thou, then, O Lord, reject us for ever? and what wilt thou do for thy great Name’s sake? Shall affliction come up one time after the other?’ Then the Lord heard their sighing, and he thought on his covenant; he turned him unto them, and took mercy upon them, according to his great mercy. He sent after that Belial the abbot Bernard, out of Clairvaux, a city in France. This man preached after their fashion, and said, ‘Go to! let us go up to Zion, to the grave of our Messiah; but take heed that ye speak only friendly with the Jews: whoso toucheth them, it is as if he touched the apple of Jesus’ eye; for they are his bone and his flesh;

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\* Nahum ii. 11.

† A contemptuous expression for the cross borne by the pilgrims.

‡ Psalm xlviii. 6.

§ At the time of the first crusade.

My disciple Rudolf hath not spoken rightly, for it is said of them in the Psalms,\* ‘Slay them not, lest my people forget.’

“They hearkened unto his voice, for he was of great authority amongst them; and they ceased from the flame of their indignation, and did the Jews no evil, that they had resolved to do them. St. Bernard took no ransom from the Jews, for he had spoken good for Israel from his heart. I praise thee, O Lord, for thou hast been angry with me, but thine anger is turned away, and thou comfortest me, inasmuch as thou hast left a remnant of us on earth, and thou hast kept alive unto this day many of those who escaped. For had not the mercy of the Lord sent that priest, none of them would have escaped and been delivered to remain. Praised be He who redeemeth and saveth! Amen. In other lands the Jews gave their silver and their gold to save their lives, and refused nothing that was asked of them. Thus did the Lord deliver them.

“But it came to pass in the month Elul, when the priest Rudolf (whom God pursue and dash to pieces!) came to Cologne, that the Rabbi Simeon went out of the city to return to his own city of Tarbers. Then met him some wicked people of the Crossed, and pressed him to let himself be defiled with water;† but when he would not hearken unto them, there came a people of fierce countenance, who regarded not the person of the old,‡ and cut off his head and placed it on the top of a house, and his carcass remained lying as dung upon the open field,§ and there was no one to bury him. The Jews when they heard this were afraid, terrified beyond measure, and said: ‘The days of visitation are come, the days of recompense are come, wrath has gone forth and the plague is begun, our days are fulfilled, our end is come. We say our hope is lost.’|| Moreover the people wept exceedingly. But the heads of the congregation betook them to the princes of the city and pleaded with them, whereby they so prevailed that the head of the righteous man and his corpse were given back to them, and they buried him in their sepulchres.

\* Psalm lix. 11.

† That is, be baptized.

‡ Deut. xxviii. 50.

§ Jer. ix. 22.

|| Hos. ix. 7; Num. xvi. 46; Lam. iv. 18; Ezek. xxxvii. 11.



“In the same time was the Jewess Minah, as she went out of Spires, laid hold on, her ears were cut off and the thumbs of her hands; moreover she was ill entreated with blows, because she remained faithful to the Holy One her Creator. Thus was Judah humbled in these evil days.

“Now the children of Israel lifted up their eyes, and lo! a mighty multitude of those who had sworn unto Baal\* was coming after them, and they were afraid and in great anguish. Then they lifted up their eyes to the mountains, upon which there were strongholds, and each besought his acquaintance, who had a tower or a castle, to let him abide in the clefts of the rocks and stones to keep himself there concealed till the wrath was passed away. They left their houses after the feast of Tabernacles of the year 4907, (1147,) and betook them to the strongholds till the men of war were gone away. They then returned again unto their dwellings.

“The Jews who dwelt at Cologne gave the bishop all he demanded, and he put into their hands the very strong castle of Falkenburg, and he even made the watchmen go out of the castle, so that no stranger was there among the Jews; but they had given their houses and their goods in pledge to the bishop. When this was known, they were no longer persecuted: moreover, to the other Jews who had fled to other castles they said nothing more from this day forth. The Lord’s name be praised for evermore! Eleazar the Levite hath written all this in his narrative, for he was among those who were admitted to that castle, even among his mother’s kindred, and he was then thirteen years old.† Moreover, the Jews who were in the lands of the king saved themselves each with his kindred and friends in the houses of his acquaintance, or in castles and strongholds, and remained there till the wrath was past away.

“At that time, while the Jews abode in the castle of Falkenburg, there dwelt on the hill beneath, a Jewish man who had two sons, of whom the one was named Abraham and the other Samuel. When these let themselves be induced by youth to go about the hill to see those who

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\* That is, the Crusaders.

† Rabbi Joseph took his whole account of the persecution from this narrative.

were going up the hill, a wicked man who met them slew them both, and then went his way. Two young men who came down the hill saw them lying dead, and they rent their clothes and gave their father tidings thereof. He wept and mourned many days for his sons, and he sought after, and at length he found their murderer. As gifts had now been given to the bishop, he caused the eyes of the murderer to be put out, so that he died after three days: So Lord, may all thine enemies perish!

“A people of fierce countenance arose against two Jews, the one named Isaac and the other Judah, who went out of Mentz in the time of the vintage and slew them. They then went away in disgrace, and came not back to their houses; but the prince (bishop) looked after all belonging to them.

“There was a man at Mentz strong and firm of hand, whose name was Samuel, the son of Isaac. The enemies fell upon this man on the road between Mentz and Worms, and slew him, but he slew three of them before he died.

“Three Hebrew men, who dwelt in the village of Bacharach, had fled to the castle with their wives and children, and when they had remained there a long time they came down on the fifth day of the third month. Then arose against them those who had sworn unto Baal, and pressed on them, and said unto them, ‘Come with us that we may be one people,’ but they hearkened not unto them, and would not defile themselves with the courtly water. The names of these men were Eliakim Nedori the son of Moses, Abraham the son of Samuel, Calonymus the son of Mordecai. When Calonymus spat upon their idol, they killed him. The two others hid themselves under the beds in the house, where they pierced them with their swords, and they were buried at Mentz. The Lord will behold and judge it. In these evil days no king gave the people of Israel justice, for the emperor Conrad was among those who had made a covenant to go up to Jerusalem.

“Many of the other Jews were verily compelled to defile themselves with water, but they afterwards turned them, as before, to the Holy One of Israel. But a Jewess of Aschaffenburg, named Gothilde, when they laid hold on her, steadily refused to defile herself, and was there-

fore drowned in the river for the Holy One her Creator. Remember her, my God, for good!

“In this time fled all the Jews in Germany, the one hither, the other thither, to the rocks and castles to save themselves from death. The congregation of Würtzburg alone remained in their dwellings and thought not on flight. On the twenty-second day of the twelfth month in the year 4907, some of the people of that place came forward and accused the Jews of scandalous things, to have a pretext to fall on them. They said, ‘We have found a Christian in the river whom ye have slain and cast into the water. But he is sanctified thereby, and lo, he performeth miracles!’ Then arose the misbelievers and the rabble and slew the Jews, so that they left no gleanings of them. At that time Rabbi Isaac was slain over his book, and with him twenty-one souls. They gave twenty wounds to a Hebrew lad who was with him as a scholar, but he did not die till after an entire year was gone over. They led his sister into a house of their error (a church), and when she spat upon their idol they beat and wounded her with fists and stones, so that she fainted away, and there was but a step between her and death. Then they beat and wounded the maiden with water, and laid her on a marble-stone, but she woke not out of her sleep, and stirred neither hand nor foot; she thus craftily feigned till night, that they might think the ghost was departed from her and she was dead. About midnight came a heathen (Christian) woman and brought her into her house. For she took compassion of her and concealed her, that she might save her and restore her to her brother. The remainder of the Jews took refuge in the houses of their acquaintance, and betook themselves the next day to the castle of Stolpon, where they remained till the wrath was over. Praised be the Lord who gave unto them deliverance! In the morning the bishop commanded to collect the bodies which had perished in the plague, and they laid the least pieces, loins and shoulders, and fingers of the hands, and everything else of them which they found, on carriages, and buried them in his garden. Rabbi Rechakiah and his wife Judith bought this garden of him afterwards, and it is now the burial-place of the Jews.

“Moreover about one hundred and fifty men were slain in Bohemia. As many were slaughtered in Soli, because they refused to change their glory (the true God) for him who can do nought. When the destroyers arose suddenly against them in Carinthia, all the Jews assembled in a court-yard, and two valiant youths, the sons of one man, stood for their lives, and smote the foes so that they could do nought against them. But during the combat, the enemies came from behind into the midst of the court, and smote them all so that none escaped. Moreover, the great Rabbi Peter and the Rabbi Jacob were slain as they went out to bury a president.

“On the seventh day of the third month, the misbelievers assembled together at Mido (Metz?) in France, and forced their way into the house of Rabbi Jacob. They robbed him of all his goods, and tore the Book of the Law of our God to pieces before his eyes. Then they laid hold on him and brought him out into the field, where they spake hard words unto him, and took counsel to slay him. They smote him on the head and said, ‘Thou art a man of authority among the Israelites, wherefore we will avenge our God upon thee; as ye have done unto him, so will we visit it on thy head.’ His soul had nearly come to rest, had not the mercy of God, which never ceaseth, appeared for him. For God caused a powerful prince to pass over the field, and this man took the Rabbi who called unto him for help, up on his horse, and spake unto the misbelievers saying, ‘Leave him to me, that I may speak with him; peradventure he will let himself be persuaded: if not, I will give him back to you on the morrow.’ They hearkened unto his voice, and thus, through the grace of God, was the Rabbi delivered out of their hands. The Lord’s name be praised! Amen.

“We have not heard that in the remaining lands of France the Jews were slain or tortured; yet the people went down to the gates.\* For King Louis commanded and caused to be proclaimed in all his realm, ‘Whoso is disposed to go with me to Jerusalem to battle, he shall be free from all debts that he oweth to the Jews.’ Thus was Israel heavily oppressed.

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\* Judges v. 11.



“The Lord delivered the Jews in England by the hand of King Henry (for a king’s heart is in the hand of the Lord), and the Lord put it into his mind to deliver them. He took not even a shoe-latchet from them; the name of the Lord be praised for evermore! Amen. Moreover, those who in this year were forced to defile themselves, found mercy with a priest. He brought them, not for silver and not for gifts, unto France, where they abode till the rage of the misbelievers against them was allayed. They then returned unto the Lord. Remember, O my God! this priest for good!

“At length the men of war who had banded themselves, set forth, but most of them died on the way, by the sea, by pestilence and the sword, by hunger and thirst, and want of all things. None of them saw his home again, but the Jews in Germany came to the desired haven,\* and dwelt again in their cities and houses as before, from the fifteenth day of the fifth month, in the year 4907, and abode there even unto this day.”†

This narrative cannot fail to interest, as the view of their persecution given by the suffering party. From it however we learn, that there was not by any means so great a number of the Jews put to death as we might have supposed. It is also gratifying to observe in it the kind feeling that appears to have prevailed in many instances, among the Christians towards their Jewish neighbours. We see that the latter constantly found an asylum with their acquaintances, and the conduct of the priest just mentioned is deserving of all praise; nor was the Jewish writer, as we may perceive, deficient in gratitude. Indeed, to the honour of human nature, men’s better feelings exhibit themselves in the worst of times, and any one who has read the history of any religious persecution or civil war, will find numerous instances of humanity similar to what we have narrated in the case of the Jews.

#### ST. BERNARD IN GERMANY.

THE preaching of Bernard at Worms and the other towns to which he came was as efficacious as it had

\* Psalm cvii. 30.

† The style of this narrative justifies Sir Walter Scott in his putting the language of Scripture into mouths of the Jewish characters in *Ivanhoe*.

been in France. Multitudes assumed the cross. But he found with sorrow that King Conrad, whom he met at Frankfort on the Maine, was immoveable in his resolution not to abandon his regal duties and lead an army to the East. Hopeless of success, he was about to return to Clairvaux, when at the entreaty of the bishop of Constance, and other prelates, to which Conrad himself joined his request, he consented to stay and give his presence at the diet which was appointed to meet at Spire on the ensuing Christmas.

In the meantime, Bernard went from place to place exciting the pious ardour of the people. The miracles which he is said to have then performed, and of which we are about to give an account, are so circumstantially related by those who were on the spot, that, however we may deny the actual interference of the Deity, we are not justified in refusing all belief to the effect. The cures, we may observe, which he is said to have effected, were chiefly of contractions of limbs, gout, and similar diseases, and of madness, and the wonderful power of the imagination in all these cases is well known. Were it possible for us, in these days of scepticism, to form an adequate conception of the strong undoubting faith of the patient and of the Saint, we might perhaps cease to be surprised, that when Bernard, in full confidence of the power with which he believed himself endowed, repeated the prayer of faith and laid his hand on the patient, whose entire soul was filled with belief of the effect about to take place, who was in imagination already cured—that the crippled limb should have stretched, the pangs of gout have ceased, or the supposed devil have departed. But when the blind are said to have been restored to sight, and the dumb endowed with speech, we may justly suspect deception, though we are not justified in asserting that the Saint was a party to it. We are further to consider that those who record these miracles, though they may have witnessed the immediate effect, probably never saw the patients any more, and knew not how soon their disorders may have returned. How different all this from the narrations in the New Testament!

While at Frankfort, Bernard performed numerous cures, and the press of the people at the cathedral was so

great, that the king himself had to take off his cloak and carry the abbot on his shoulders through the throng. At every town on the road to Constance, the sick were restored to health by the prayer and imposition of hands of the holy man; and as it was then the custom in Germany to announce the performance of a miracle by the ringing of bells and the hymns of the people, the air everywhere resounded with the sound of bells and the hymn of "Christ have mercy upon us! (*Christ uns genade*,) Kyrie eleïson! All the Saints help us!" The press was so great in the towns, that his companions who could not get near, could only learn by those sounds when a miracle had been performed. At Constance, a poor blind boy, sent thither by the abbot of Reicherau, received his sight;\* in all the towns thence to Strassburg, the sick were restored to health by the prayer of the abbot of Clairvaux. At every place at which he landed, in his voyage thence along the Rhine to Spire, he gave equal proofs of his sanctity and power. Knights and people everywhere assumed the cross with the same eagerness as in France; the clothes were frequently torn by the zealous off the back of the Saint to form crosses, and he had therefore constantly to procure himself new raiment.

A young knight named Henry, at Freyburg, who had taken the cross, and at whose house Bernard lodged, had a godless profligate squire: this squire not only refused to assume the cross himself, but mocked and derided his master for attending to the Saint. The knight took up a lame woman on his horse, to bring her to the holy man, and the squire instantly began to revile him for having to do with such a magician and deceiver. The knight turned and offered to give him his horse as a present, if the power of the holy abbot did not give that lame woman strength to walk. The squire laughed aloud, but the miracle instantly took place, and the sceptic fell to the ground to all appearance dead. The knight informed the abbot of what had occurred, and he replied: "God forbid that I should be the cause of the death of a man," and he went,

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\* *Nulla sic ignoravimus sicut ea quæ Constantiæ facta sunt, quia nemo nostrum se turbis immiscere audebat. Gaufridus De Mirac. S. Bern. p. 1185.* The abbot Frowin also says, *Quæ Constantiæ facta sunt, præ tumultu pauci viderunt.*

and having prayed in silence over him, bade him arise. The squire, on recovering, averred to the bystanders that he had been dead and on his way to hell, and that he had only been saved by the prayer of the holy man. He took the cross immediately. The truth of this miracle was testified by the knight Henry, who after his return from the Holy Land took the vows in the abbey of Clairvaux.

At Spires the concourse was great, and though Bernard spoke in French, a language not understood by the greater part of his auditors, his zeal and energy gained numbers for the sacred cause. Still the king and princes of the empire could not be induced to engage in a hazardous and doubtful expedition to the East, leaving their dominions at the mercy of their enemies, who stayed at home. Bernard in vain essayed all the powers of his eloquence; during two days in private conference with Conrad he could only bring him to say, that he would take the important matter into consideration.

Bernard, as his last resort, resolved to try the effect of surprise on the king. In the midst of the celebration of a solemn mass, he stopped short and commenced a solemn exhortation to the people, in which he spoke in bitter terms of those stony hearts which felt no pity for the afflicted church of Jerusalem. Suddenly then directing his discourse to the king, who was already affected, and addressing him, not as a king but as a mere man, he recounted to him all that his Saviour had done and suffered for him, upbraided him with his ingratitude in not making a return for such favour, and reminded him of the day of doom and the heavy reckoning which God would exact for such ingratitude. Conrad could resist no longer; convinced that God spake by the mouth of Bernard, he interrupted him in the midst of his discourse, imploring forgiveness with tears, and eagerly demanding a cross. Bernard reached him a banner from the altar, the other princes hesitated no longer to take crosses from the hands of the holy abbot, and the triumph of the religious sentiment over worldly prudence was complète.

The return of Bernard to Clairvaux was equally signalized by miracles, and by the acquisition of champions in the cause of Christ. At Cologne the multitudes who crowded with their sick to the house where he lodged,



were so great that they could not venture to open the door, and he stood at a window to which the sick were raised by a ladder. He was not given even time to sup, and so many of the sick were brought during the night that he had to pass it without sleep. Next day the archbishop took him to his palace that he might enjoy the needful repose. On the way thence to Clairvaux, the joyful tidings reached him that Welf duke of Bavaria and several of his knights had taken the cross. After a short stay at this abbey, to recruit his strength, the pious abbot set forth for Etampes, whither King Louis had summoned for Septuagesima Sunday (February 16, 1147) his barons and prelates, to consult on the crusade, and to appoint a regent to govern the realm during his absence. He here related to the assemblage all that God had done by him in Germany.

#### PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEPARTURE OF THE PILGRIMS.

**I**N spring the pope set out from Rome and came to France, to be a witness of the zeal of the pilgrims, and to animate them by his presence. At Dijon he was met by King Louis, who conducted him to St. Denis, and on the festival of Easter, to the great joy of the people, the supreme pontiff himself bore a part in the sacred ceremonies. The Master of the Temple, and one hundred and thirty of his knights, happening to be in Paris at that time, the pope and king honoured their chapter with their presence. Eugenius highly extolled the zeal of the French crusaders, and his approbation augmented their eagerness to set forth for the Holy Land.

Yet the zeal which was now manifested was of a very different character from that which had animated those who took arms at the call of Urban and Peter the Hermit. Then knights, and nobles, and princes, pledged their lands and houses, and those who could not go themselves, contributed to equip those who were willing, but had not the means, to go and fight for their Saviour. Men offered themselves and their wealth freely unto the Lord. Now the assumption of the cross was made a pretext for laying oppressive taxes on clergy and laity alike. Monasteries were forced to sell their sacred utensils to answer the heavy demands made on them by the king, and the clergy

moreover bitterly complained of the enormous expenses to which they were put by the visit of the pope. The flame of enthusiasm was not to be kindled a second time; men knew now the real nature of an expedition to the East.

In Germany, too, the fervour excited by the preaching of Bernard cooled in some measure. Henry the Lion duke of Saxony, Adolph count of Holstein, and several Saxon bishops, began to think that they might employ their arms equally well for the honour of God, in turning them against the heathen Vends,\* and thus securing their own states; many pilgrims, who dreaded the toils and dangers of the road to Palestine, joined themselves to these more prudent crusaders. A large body of the pilgrims from the Rhine, Westphalia, and Bremen, preferred the passage by sea as less dangerous, and resolved to embark in the ports of the Netherlands.

#### MARCH OF THE GERMANS.

THE two kings had arranged that the German pilgrims should set out first, lest quarrels should arise, or provisions fail on the way. The armies were to join at Constantinople, and then pass over to Asia. Accordingly, when spring, the usual season for the assembling of pilgrim armies, was come, the Germans who had taken the cross repaired to Ratisbon, and there awaited the arrival of the king† and the princes. Conrad kept his Easter at Bamberg with old German magnificence, and on the day of St. George he assembled the princes of the empire at Nürnberg, and arranged measures with them for the government of the country and the maintenance of peace during his absence. Having committed the administration of affairs to his son Henry, he rode in great state into the camp at Ratisbon, accompanied by his two brothers, Otto bishop of Frisingen and Henry duke of Bavaria, his nephew Frederic duke of Suabia, the old duke Welf, Odoacer marquis of Styria, Vladislav duke of Bohemia, the bishops of Passau, Basle, and Ratisbon, many

\* These were a Slavonian tribe, who occupied the southern shore of the Baltic, the modern Prussia.

† Gibbon and others very improperly style Conrad emperor. As he had not been to Rome to receive the imperial crown from the pope, he was only King of the Romans.

other prelates and princes, and a numerous train of gallant knights.

Martial and splendid was the appearance of this first army which Germany sent to war in the cause of the Son of God. Few nobles or knights of name in Franconia, Suabia, and Bavaria, remained behind; enmities were forgotten, and hereditary foes rode peacefully side by side. A forest of lances, from each of which fluttered a gay pennon, rose in the air; the gaudy hues of crests and surcoats delighted the eye, the polished helms and bucklers cast a dazzling light, and the earth trembled beneath the tramp of the mighty war-steeds. Seventy thousand is said to have been the number of the German chivalry; they were accompanied by a large body of light-horse, and a huge multitude of foot-men followed. Many noble dames disguised themselves in men's attire and accompanied their husbands, resolved to share in the toils and the glories of the holy war. The usual attendants of a pilgrim-army, rabble and women of loose life, contributed to swell its number. From Ratisbon the army proceeded along the Danube, and on Ascension-day they reached the borders of Austria. They kept their Whitsuntide at Neustadt, and then entered the kingdom of Hungary.

Geisa, king of Hungary, readily granted a free passage and market; he even bestowed large gifts on the king to induce him to withhold his aid from Boris the son of King Kalmany, who claimed the throne to which Geisa had been freely elected. The German pilgrims reached the Greek frontiers without encountering any impediment.

The throne of Byzantium was occupied at this time by Manuel the son of the late emperor John, a prince of a jealous, suspicious character. Neither he nor his subjects could be induced to think that the real object of the Western pilgrims could be any other than the overthrow of the Greek empire. Their zeal for the defence of the Holy Land they regarded as a mere pretence. Accordingly, when he learned that a new crusade, headed by the monarchs of France and Germany, was in preparation, Manuel hastened to put his towns in a state of defence, and he also sent ambassadors to each of the kings, to obtain assurances from them that they would undertake nothing against him or his dominions.

Some years before there had been a dispute between Manuel and Conrad, in consequence of the insolence of a Byzantine envoy, who said at the court of the latter, that the German king was ruling in the empire of his master. "He could not have angered me more," said Conrad, "if he had slain my son." This quarrel, however, was settled, and an alliance was entered into between the two monarchs against the Normans of Sicily, and Manuel espoused the sister of Conrad's queen.

The Greek ambassadors met the Germans on the confines of Hungary, and here Conrad and the princes exposed to them the causes of their crusade, and swore peace with the empire. Boats were then furnished to convey them over the Danube. By order of the emperor, persons appointed for that purpose counted the pilgrims as they passed. They reckoned up to 90,000, and then their patience failed them. The toilsome march from the Danube to Sardica over the mountains was peaceful and orderly. In the fruitful plains of Dadira strife began; the Greeks wished to gain a profit on the sale of their provisions, the poorer pilgrims attempted to take by force what they had not money to purchase. Conrad punished the offenders severely, but harmony could not be restored, and at Philippopolis it came to an open engagement between the pilgrims and the Greeks. The occasion was as follows:—

Owing to the prudence of the bishop of this place, an Italian by birth, so good an understanding prevailed, that the townspeople visited the camp without apprehension. A juggler, who carried about a pet snake which he had taught various tricks, went into a tavern in a suburb of the town inhabited by Latin Christians, where a party of German pilgrims were drinking. He sat down with them and drank, though he knew not their language. Presently, to give them entertainment, he drew his snake out of his bosom, and set it on a cup on the floor to perform its tricks. The ignorant Germans, who had never seen anything of the kind, thought it was done by magic, and in the rage of their zeal laid hold on the unfortunate juggler, and tore him to pieces. The people of the place fell on them to avenge him, the noise brought more Germans from the camp to the aid of their friends, and a furious



combat took place. The governor of the town, who came with an unarmed train to re-establish peace, was driven back by the pilgrims. He returned with a body of archers, and slew or wounded several of them; they in revenge began to waste the surrounding country in a shocking manner, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the bishop succeeded in restoring peace.

The emperor, hearing of the excesses committed by the pilgrims, sent an army composed of Pechenegans and Comans, under the command of Prosuch, a man of Turkish origin, to march near the German army. These barbarians slew without mercy such of the pilgrims as straggled from the main body to plunder and get drunk: of this the princes took no heed; but a knight of high rank having fallen sick, and being left behind in a convent at Adrianople, whence he was removed with his property and servants into a private house, some villains, to have an opportunity of plunder, set fire to the house, and burned him and his attendants. When the duke of Suabia heard this, he returned in a great fury, seized some of the guilty parties and put them to death, then burned down the convent, and was with difficulty withheld from carrying his vengeance to greater lengths.

The emperor sent again to remind the German king and princes of their oath, and recommended that, to avoid the occasions of strife and enmity, they should, instead of coming to Constantinople, direct their course to the Hellespont. To this reasonable and unobjectionable request Conrad would not accede, and the pilgrims proceeded toward the imperial city. On the eve of the nativity of the Virgin, they reached the fruitful plain of Chirobaccha, near the sea, and a short distance from Constantinople; and here they pitched their tents between the two streams by which it is watered, intending to remain and celebrate the approaching festival. They went to repose in joyful anticipation; at break of day some light clouds appeared, but they excited no apprehension in those who saw them; a soft gentle rain soon began to fall, and then suddenly came on a tremendous storm of wind and rain; the wind howled, torrents poured from the sky, the streams, so placid the evening before, now roared and foamed, rising over their banks and inunda-

ting the plain. The tents were overturned, the pilgrims started up from their beds in terror, and saw with consternation destruction impending over them. Many of those who could not swim were drowned, others who could swim were laid hold on and dragged down by those who could not. The loss in men, beasts of burden, provisions and property of all kind, was immense. The camp of the duke of Suabia, which was on the side of a hill, alone escaped the deluge; and thither repaired the remaining pilgrims, to celebrate the festival; and with mournful hearts, says the Bishop of Frisingen, they sang the usual hymn of *Rejoice, ye Christians!* The Greeks saw in this calamity the judgment of God on perjury, and the more pious of the crusaders were disposed to impute it to the vices which prevailed in the pilgrim-camp.

When recovered from this calamity, the German army advanced toward the imperial city. The inhabitants had conceived the most exaggerated ideas of the ferocity, and at the same time of the ignorance and stupidity, of the Germans; their mode of marching in separate corps, while a Greek army moved in one compact body, made them appear so feeble in the eyes of the Greek generals, that they had asked the emperor's permission to attack them on the road from Adrianople; but Manuel, more wise or more timid, would not suffer them to be molested. When the pilgrims now came in sight, the people, in full assurance that they would make a wild irregular attack on the imperial troops, crowded to the walls to witness the rout of the barbarians. But their disappointment was great when they beheld the Germans cross the bridge over the Bathyssus, and peaceably take up their quarters in the suburb of Pera, where fifty years before, Godfrey of Bouillon, and the heroes of the first crusade, had abode.

The transactions which took place during the stay of the German pilgrims at Pera, were nearly a repetition of what had occurred at the time of the first crusade, with this difference, that in dignity and firmness of character, Conrad was far inferior to the gallant duke of Lorraine, and the Germans were far more unruly than the troops of that prince. Manuel employed language of scorn and defiance in his correspondence with the German king, which Alexius would not have been easily induced to ven-

ture on in his dealings with Godfrey or Boemond ; but these princes, it was well known, rarely menaced in vain, while Conrad had the fault of weak minds, who utter threats which they have not the power of executing. Thus, on the present occasion, when the time had been arranged for the passage of the pilgrims over to Asia, Conrad demanded for himself the imperial galley, and the other ships of the royal fleet for his troops, menacing in case of refusal to lay siege to Constantinople in the spring. Manuel, in a boastful epistle, positively refused; and Conrad and his men passed over in such vessels as they could get. The German king, too, from his want of firmness and decision of character, had little control over his troops, and was unable to maintain such strict discipline among them as would have left the Greeks without excuse for their conduct toward them.

At length, to the joy of the Greeks, the Germans were all over in Asia. The pilgrims from Lorraine, who had come up with the Germans at Constantinople, but who, weary of their rudeness, wished to separate from them, asked permission to remain till the arrival of the French. This however was refused, and a stoppage in the supply of provisions soon obliged them to pass over.

#### MARCH OF THE FRENCH CRUSADERS.

AT Whitsuntide, the French chivalry, numerous and splendid as that of the Germans, assembled at Metz. Almost every name renowned in the history of France was there to be found. Robert of Perche, the king's brother, led thither his magnificent array; Amadeus of Turin, and his brother William of Montferrat, the king's uncle, headed their Italian vassals; the counts of Flanders, of Nevers, of Soissons, Ponthieu, Raucon, Varennes, and others, appeared in arms; the bishops of Noyon, Lizieux, Langres, and Arras, and the abbots of St. Pierre-le-Vif at Sens, and of St. Columba, headed their cavaliers; the barons Archembald of Bourbon, Enguerrand of Coucy, Hugh of Lusignan, William of Courteney, Eberhard of Breteuil, and numerous other lords displayed their banners in the cause of the Redeemer. The king, fearing to leave behind him his gay young spouse, Eleanor, the heiress of Guienne and Poitou, had prevailed on her to

take the cross, and encounter the perils and privations of pilgrimage. Her example was followed by many dames of gallant knights, and pomp and luxury attended the army of the Cross.

The pious monarch, ere he departed, visited all the hospitals in Paris, and bestowed on them his gifts and alms. Attended by only two servants, he went through the hospital of the lepers, entering all the apartments, and speaking words of consolation to its unhappy inmates. He then proceeded to St. Denis, where his mother, his wife, and a large number of the people, were waiting for him, and cast himself down in prayer before the bones of the blessed martyr. The pope and the abbot Suger opened the golden door of the altar, took out the silver shrine which contained them, and permitted the king to look on and kiss the sacred relics. While his mother and all present were weeping aloud, the king took from the altar the consecrated Oriflamme,\* and the pilgrim's staff and wallet, and received the benediction of the holy father. He then entered the dormitory of the monks; he meekly partook of their simple fare, and kissed each of them on the cheek as he was leaving the monastery.

The pilgrim-army, when joined by the king, proceeded without delay to Worms, where boats had been collected to convey them over the Rhine. Here the usual insolence of the French displayed itself, and a quarrel between them and the townspeople was terminated with some difficulty. They then advanced by Würzburg to Ratisbon, which the Germans had left two months before, and traced their steps by Neustadt into Hungary. The king and people of this country proved friendly; the bridges and boats left by the Germans facilitated their progress; but the greater quantity of their waggons and baggage obliged them to make shorter days' marches, and they lost many horses, and left much needless luggage behind

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\* The Oriflamme (*Aurea flamma*) was the banner of the monastery of St. Denis. It was square, of red silk, suspended from a cross-bar on a gilded spear. It was carried in the wars, in which the monastery was engaged, by its *avoués*, or *advocates*, the counts of Vexin, and by the kings of France, when they became proprietors of that county, in all the wars they waged. It was not used after the time of Charles VI. See DUCANGE ON JOINVILLE, *Dissert.* xviii.



them. At length they reached the confines of the Eastern empire.

Manuel's ambassadors had met King Louis at Ratisbon. The air and appearance of the Greeks in their tight silken garments, with their sleeves tucked up, which gave them the look of prize-fighters, excited the aversion of the free-born knights and prelates of France; and this aversion was increased by the servility and adulation of their manners. "When they had delivered their letters," says the historian, "they *stood* waiting for an answer, for they would not sit down till they were desired." "We saw there," he adds, "what we afterwards learned was the Grecian custom, that when the lords sit, all the clients without distinction stand." The king was at first somewhat pleased by the flattery and encomiums contained in the imperial letters, and by the bland adulation of the envoys: but he soon learned to rate these courtesies at their true value. As they were reading aloud from the letters the praises of the king's exalted virtues, the bishop of Langres, who acted as interpreter, wearied out, said to them, "My dear brethren, do not talk so much of the royalty and majesty, the piety and the fame of our king; he knows all this right well himself, and we know it just as well as he does. Say what you really want to say briefly and quickly."

What Manuel required was, that they should swear not to take possession of any part of his dominions, and to give up to him any conquests they might make from the Turks. Some thought these demands reasonable enough; others asked why they should not keep what they might get? It was finally agreed that the two monarchs should settle these points between themselves; and a safe passage and provisions were promised the pilgrims, who, on their side, engaged to maintain peace and order on their march.

As they proceeded through the empire, they found that the Greeks had shut themselves up in their towns and strong places, and would only deal with them from the walls. The supply thus to be obtained not being sufficient, the crusaders robbed and plundered; the barbarian troops of the emperor hung on their flanks and rear, cutting off stragglers. The French, however, were

more politic than the Germans: they behaved in general with courtesy to the Greeks, though they secretly despised and hated them. The king testified all due regard for the highflown compliments of the emperor, and the queen made a suitable reply to the rhetorical epistle of the empress Irene. The Greeks now regarded the French as the least savage of the barbarians, and their arrival at Constantinople was looked forward to by the emperor without much apprehension. A futile attempt however was made to engage them to cross the Hellespont; but King Louis would take no road but that which had been trodden by the preceding armies of the Cross. In gallant show the French crusaders appeared before the walls of Byzantium. They had not suffered like the Germans; their baggage-train was complete, and the Greeks gazed on them with admiration. Nothing so much excited their surprise as the number of ladies who accompanied the army; their rich dress and numerous attendants were beheld with exclamations of wonder; but their martial air was quite unseemly in the eyes of the timid and fastidious Greeks, and it shocked them beyond measure to see these Amazons riding astride like men. One lady, probably the queen, chiefly attracted their attention, by her stately mien, and the splendour of her attire; they compared her to the renowned Penthesiléa, and as her robe was hemmed with gold, they named her Gold-foot.

#### THE FRENCH AT CONSTANTINOPLE.

TO prove that his treatment of the Germans had been caused solely by their own rudeness and brutality, Manuel resolved to show every kind of respect to the French monarch. The Greek nobility and clergy advanced to meet him and invite him to the imperial residence; the emperor himself received him at the palace-gate, and led him into the royal apartments, where the two monarchs, who were nearly of an age, conversed a long time by the aid of interpreters. They parted as brothers, and the clergy and nobles then conducted King Louis to the residence assigned him in the royal park, named Philopation, a place in which the Germans had committed the most disgraceful ravages. The emperor consented that the French pilgrims should remain at

Constantinople till the arrival of those who had separated from them at Worms and taken their route through Italy. They were also permitted to enter the city in small parties, and view the churches and other public edifices. The magnificence which they here beheld filled the pilgrims with amazement.

The harmony between the Greeks and the pilgrims, however, suffered some occasional interruption. The latter, when in want of wood for firing, scrupled not to cut down the olives and other fruit-trees, and even to pull down the houses outside of the town. King Louis punished some of the offenders with severity, cutting off their ears, hands, and feet, but their number was too great to allow his justice to extend to every case. The Greeks were satisfied of his good intentions, and the market continued to be well supplied. At length they began to think that their visitors were staying too long, and the usual mode of driving away pilgrim-armies was adopted. The supply of provisions was slackened, and in addition, false reports were spread of the brilliant successes which were attending the arms of the Germans. It was asserted that they had slain in a bloody battle fourteen thousand Turks; that the wealthy city of Iconium had been abandoned by the heathen and taken by the Germans without opposition; that, finally, the German monarch had already sent to invite the emperor to take possession of several cities which had submitted to his arms.

Improbable as these reports were, they produced the desired effect; the French became jealous of the fame acquired by the Germans, and longed to get a share of the booty. They were urgent with the king to depart, Louis yielded to their desires, the emperor cheerfully furnished ships, and on the sixteenth day after their arrival they quitted Constantinople and passed over to Asia.

It was perhaps fortunate for the Greek empire that the stay of the French pilgrims was not prolonged. On their way to Constantinople, several of the barons, incensed at the conduct of the Greeks, had proposed to the king to make the ill-treatment which some French pilgrims had received at Constantinople a pretext for war, to form an alliance with Roger count of Sicily, who was actually at war with the empire, and in the spring to attack the

capital on the land side, while the Sicilian galleys assailed it by sea. During the few days they were at Constantinople, the crusaders had remarked the ruinous state of its walls, and the facility of cutting off its supply of water. The bishop of Langres had even employed all his eloquence to justify an attack on the Greeks on account of their heterodoxy, and their continued malice and treachery toward the crusaders; and others quoted the well-known declaration of Boemond, that till the Greek empire was in the hands of the Latins, there would be no security for the Holy Land, and showed that, with the capital, the whole empire must fall. On both occasions, however, the opinion of the better-disposed and more honourable had prevailed, and, as we have seen, no acts of hostility were committed.

#### THE FRENCH IN ASIA.

WHILE the pilgrim-army was lying on the shore of the Propontis, several wealthy Greek traders brought over such costly wares as the French were in the habit of purchasing. They ranged their glittering stalls along the strand; such of the crusaders as could afford it were buying, others who had no money gazed with a wistful eye on the treasures which were there displayed to view. At length, a Fleming, unable any longer to restrain his cupidity, seized an article of great value, and with a shout of triumph exhibited his prize. At this signal, others rushed forward and grasped whatever had most caught their fancy. The booths and tables were thrown down and plundered, the owners fled and sought refuge on board of the ships which had brought provisions, and the ships instantly put off and returned to the city, carrying away such of the pilgrims as happened to be in them at the time. These pilgrims when they came to the city were laid hold on, plundered, and then cast into prison.

King Louis had the Fleming immediately seized and hung on a gallows in view of the imperial city; he caused everything that had been taken to be collected and restored to its owner, and sent envoys to exculpate himself before the emperor, and to request the liberation of the captive pilgrims and the re-opening of the market. These



envoys, who were the bishop of Lizieux and the royal chancellor, received the most contemptuous treatment. From morn till evening, and even the greater part of the night, they had to wait in the palace vainly expecting admission to the imperial presence. No refreshments were offered them, and their only amusement was looking at the statues and other ornaments which decorated the stately halls. At length, about the third hour next morning, hungry, thirsty, and wearied, they were led before the emperor, who haughtily told them he would signify his will to the French king by his own ambassadors.

The proposals sent by the emperor were, that the French barons should take the oath of fealty to him, as the first crusaders had done to his grandfather; that the king should give in marriage to a kinsman of the emperor a lady of the royal blood who was in the train of Queen Eleanor; that the king and his principal barons should return to Constantinople, the barons to take the oath, the king to give and receive engagements of mutual amity. On these conditions, the emperor promised to furnish guides through Lesser Asia, and provisions during their march through the Greek territory.

To the first condition, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the fiery bishop of Langres, the barons acceded; to the second they showed great aversion, and as Count Robert of Perche had secretly conveyed the lady to Nicomedia, the Greeks gave it up; the third, the emperor waived himself, appointing the interview to take place in a castle on the Asiatic side of the Strait. In the interview, after a vain attempt to induce King Louis to enter into an alliance with him against Roger of Sicily, Manuel engaged to furnish provisions and guides, and the two monarchs and their nobles parted on terms of the most perfect amity. The emperor having bestowed rich gifts on the Franks returned to his capital, and the pilgrims began to prepare for their journey.

#### PROGRESS OF THE GERMANS.

**M**EANTIME the Germans had advanced into Asia. When they reached Nicomedia they held a council to determine which of the three roads leading to Syria they should take. The shortest was that taken by the

first crusaders, which would lead them to Iconium in twelve days, and thence to the confines of Antioch in five days more. But this route was both toilsome and dangerous, for a vigorous resistance was to be expected from the Turks, and as the season was far advanced, many of the steep mountains which were to be crossed were already covered with snow. The second route was along the sea-coast, where a plentiful supply of provisions might be calculated on, as there lay on it so many rich and populous towns; the only impediment to be apprehended was, the rising of the numerous rivers which empty themselves into the Mediterranean sea. The third road, by Philadelphia, in Lydia, lay between the other two; it was shorter than the one and less dangerous than the other, but as it led through a very poor country, it was only adapted for an army well supplied with necessaries of every kind.

A great difference of opinion prevailed in the council, and as unanimity could not be effected, the army divided; those who preferred the longer but safer way, set out for Ephesus, under the guidance of the bishop of Frisingen; while King Conrad, who, in his confidence in the strength of his army, resolved to march by Iconium, made preparations for the difficulties he had to encounter.

The bishop of Frisingen and his followers were grievously disappointed in their expectations of aid and friendship from the Greeks. At every town to which they came they were refused admittance; exorbitant prices were charged for the worst of provisions, which were let down to them by cords from the walls, the pilgrims having previously sent up their money in the same manner. Not unfrequently a knavish Greek pocketed the money of a hungry pilgrim, and went off leaving him in vain expectation of the food for which he had paid. Lime was continually mixed with the flour which was sold them, and this abominable practice caused the death of numbers of the pilgrims. Every effort was made to induce the starving crusaders to break their vow, and enter the imperial service. Light troops constantly hovered about, and lying in wait in the narrow passes of the mountains, annoyed and cut them off. Their guides led them astray, the perfidious governor of Laodicea had a part of them

conducted to an ambush of the Turks, and shared the booty with the Infidels ; and only a small portion of this army reached the borders of Syria. The Latins throw the whole blame of these disasters on the emperor Manuel, who, they assert, had planned their destruction ; and the Greek writers, probably thinking it to his praise, ascribe to him some of the preceding acts of perfidy. Perhaps the truth may be, that Manuel wished to enfeeble the crusaders, so that they might not be an overmatch for the Turks, hoping to derive advantage from their mutual destruction, and had given directions to his governors to that effect, and that these may have gone beyond their instructions.

A more disastrous journey awaited Conrad, and those who marched under his command. The Greek guides advised to lay in a sufficient stock of provisions, as the way would lead for several days through a barren land ; but the crusaders' means of payment ran short, and the quantity procured was insufficient. They had gone about half the way to Iconium, and had already been suffering hunger for the last three days, when they entered a narrow valley, shut in by lofty mountains, in the neighbourhood of Dorylæum, where the first crusaders had fought so gloriously against Kiliç Arslân and his Turks. Here Conrad severely reproached and threatened the Greek guides, and during the night these, either out of fear or gained over by the Turks, or, it may be, by the emperor's command, ran away and abandoned the crusaders. In the morning, when the flight of the guides was perceived, great consternation prevailed among the pilgrims, and whilst they were consulting about what it were best to do, a cry was raised that there were Turks on the heights. To continue in their present position was impossible ; whether they advanced or retreated they would have to force their way through the Turkish squadrons, which they now perceived had blocked up both ends of the valley. After long deliberation, it was resolved to issue at one side, to make their way through the mountains to Nicæa, and then to follow the army of the bishop of Frisingen along the coast.

The consequences of this injudicious plan were such as might have been expected. The Turks, who were com-

manded by Pyramus, the general of Massood, the sultan of Iconium, and who were in great numbers, hovered round them everywhere; neither wood, nor river, nor mountain, yielded any security against them; and after several days of toil and suffering, but a tenth part of seventy thousand harnessed horse had escaped the Turkish arrows; the foot-men were slaughtered or made captive; the women, the children, and all the baggage became the prey of the victors. No one could tell what was the exact cause of this calamity; it was a general panic which had deprived them of all council, and made valour of no avail. King Conrad himself received two wounds from the Turkish arrows.

#### PROGRESS OF THE FRENCH.

THE French army was encamped on the shores of the lake of Nicæa, when Frederic duke of Suabia, and some other nobles, came with the intelligence of the destruction of the German army. Louis and his barons testified the utmost grief at the tidings, and the king advanced in person to meet and console the afflicted monarch. In a council at which King Conrad assisted, it was decided that the French army should take the road to Philadelphia and Smyrna, and halt at Lopadium, till they were joined by the remnant of the Germans.

On their way to Lopadium, the unfortunate Germans were harassed without ceasing by the Greek light troops which hovered about them, and they were obliged to send to the French for aid; a body of French horse quickly dispersed the Greeks, and the Germans entered the camp of their allies. Here the forlorn condition of the once brilliant German army drew tears from the eyes of the beholders, and augmented the rancour against the malignant Greeks, to whom all their misfortunes were imputed. Louis assigned the German monarch a place near where his own tent was pitched; and that the number of his troops might in some measure correspond with his dignity, he put under his command the pilgrims from Lorraine and Italy.

On leaving Lopadium, the pilgrims entered on a country barren and desert. The fear of famine immediately assailed them, and King Conrad sought, by describing the



sufferings which his army had undergone, to induce Louis to quit this road and make for the sea-coast. The French monarch assented, and the march was changed; but though Demetria, the nearest town on the coast, was not more than half a day's journey distant, only a small portion of the army succeeded in finding the direct road to it; the remainder did not reach it till the third day, after enduring great losses and privations. Here, however, and at every other town to which they came, they were refused admittance, provisions were to be had only at an enormous price, and many of the poorer pilgrims, whose lot at home had always been servitude, were glad to take service with Greek masters as a security against famine.

The numerous rivers they met, few of which were spanned by bridges, increased the difficulties of the pilgrims. Even where their channels were nearly dry, the steepness of the banks rendered the passage laborious. The pilgrims regarded as a miracle the circumstance (no uncommon one with mountain-streams) of three of these rivers having yielded them a free passage, and then all at once having turned to furious torrents, roaring, foaming, and whirling along tremendous waves. Strange as it may appear, in consequence of these obstructions, no less a space of time than two months was consumed in the march from Lopadium to Ephesus, where courteous and flattering letters from the emperor and empress met King Conrad, inviting him to repair to Constantinople, to pass the winter there and recruit his strength before he exposed himself to new difficulties. The good feeling between the French and the Germans not having continued, as the former had resumed their insolence, and the latter their rudeness, and as moreover he felt the inferiority of his situation in the army, Conrad willingly accepted the imperial invitation, and embarked at Ephesus with his princes and nobles. Owing, perhaps, to his present powerless condition, he met with the kindest reception at the court of Byzantium. Plays, horse-races, and every other kind of amusement were employed to divert his melancholy, and lead away his mind from his misfortunes.

The French army, which reckoned sixty thousand harnessed knights, exclusive of the foot-men, women, and children, without attempting to enter Ephesus, which the

inhabitants seemed disposed to defend against them, repaired on Christmas eve to a pleasant fertile valley, in its vicinity, to keep the festival of the Nativity. On the fourth day after the festival, apprehensive of the rising of the streams, if they made any further delay, they set forward, having previously laid in a plentiful supply of provisions. By a special providence, as it seemed to *them*, the weather now became clear and warm. Each day the knights gallantly encountered and drove off the Turkish horse, who now began to hover around the army, and their victories in these preludes of arms inspired them with confidence. The king himself shunned no danger, and on every occasion fought like a good and true knight; the Master of the Temple and his knights, who accompanied the army, signalized themselves above all others.

At length the pilgrims beheld the fertile banks of the Mæander, renowned for its swans and for its winding course. Its opposite bank was occupied by the Turkish horse, prepared to dispute the passage, but the Christians having found a ford, made their way over it, with so little loss that they saw in it the hand of Heaven. Many even affirmed, that a horseman clad in white, and who was not seen before or after that time, was the first to pass over, and to strike at the heathen.\* The crusaders saw on this occasion what they regarded as a convincing proof of a plot against them, between the Greeks and the Turks; for the governor of Antioch, on the Mæander, opened his gates to admit the flying infidels. On the third day the pilgrims came to the city of Laodicea, where they expected to obtain provisions; but the inhabitants, dreading their approach, had abandoned their houses and fled with their property to the mountains.

Nothing now remained for them but to cross, without loss of time, the mountains between Laodicea and Satalia. As they advanced, they everywhere beheld the mangled bodies of the Germans of the bishop of Frisingen's army, and they cursed the treachery of the perfidious Greeks. They soon learned that the united forces of the Greeks and Turks would assail, and, if possible, destroy them in the passes of the mountains. The king now enjoined on

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\* Perhaps one of the Templars. See p. 110, *note*.

all the commanders the strictest obedience to the orders which should be issued by himself and the council of war. The army soon drew nigh to a steep rocky ridge, forming the hither side of the valley, through which the river Lycus runs. As the declivity on the other side of the river was occupied by the enemy, the king gave orders that the army should halt at the foot of the mountain, and not commence the ascent till the following morning, when they would have the entire day before them, and would not run the risk of being attacked in the night, or in an unfavourable position. But Godfrey of Raucon and Amadeus of Turin, who with the royal banner led the van that day, having arrived by noon at the mountain, and finding the ascent practicable, went up; and then, enticed by the appearance of the fruitful valley beneath, they descended and encamped about the ninth hour. The other pilgrims as they came up followed their example, and began to ascend the mountain. The path was soon choked up with men and beasts of burden; others then sought other paths, and began to ascend by ways which were hardly practicable for unencumbered men, much less for laden beasts. Men and beasts slipped, fell, and rolled down, overturning those who were below them. All was outcry, tumult, and confusion. The Turks, discovering how they were situated, crossed the valley, and began to shower arrows upon them. The king, who was in the rear, as soon as he heard of the danger of the pilgrims, hurried forwards, with the barons who were about him, and fell on the Turks. Many a gallant knight was prostrated by the arrows of the infidels, but a part of the people and of the baggage was at last saved from them.

In this conflict, King Louis ran great risk of his life. Having lost his horse, he was closely pursued by some Turks; he climbed up through the roots of a tree to a rock, where his corslet defended him from their arrows; and when they attempted to climb up after him, he with his good sword cut off the hands and heads of several of them. Not knowing who he was, they left him, and when night came on he made his way to the army, who had been lamenting him as dead or taken. The pilgrims were clamorous for the punishment of the count of Raucon, but, as the king's uncle had been equally to blame, he escaped.

The king, as far as he was able, made good the losses of the sufferers.

As the army was now so much reduced, and more frequent attacks were to be apprehended, the king ordered such of the knights as still had good horses, to form themselves into a fraternity with the Templars, and to swear obedience to the commander whom these knights should set over them. The Templars selected for this purpose a valiant and pious knight, named Gislebert, and he instantly chose out five hundred knights, who were to march on the front, rear, and flanks of the army, and be always ready to encounter the Turks. The king himself became a member of this association, and was always to be found at the post of danger. In consequence of this regulation, the pilgrims did not suffer much from the Turks; but famine still attended them; for the Greeks, out of fear and hatred, not merely deserted the towns and villages, but maliciously set fire to the pastures, to deprive even the horses of food. The flesh of their horses and asses, which they killed when they sank down exhausted with fatigue, was now the choicest diet of the crusaders, and they loudly lamented not having taken the road to Iconium, where, as they thought, they would only have had the open honourable warfare of the Turks to encounter; for they were in the habit of ascribing every misfortune that befell them to the treachery of the Greeks, leaving out of the account their own imprudence in venturing in the middle of winter, to trust to chance for the supply of their wants, in a country where the inhabitants were afraid of them, ill-disposed toward them, and, in many cases, possessing barely sufficient provisions for their own consumption.

At length, on the fifteenth day after their departure from Ephesus, the pilgrims reached Satalia, where they were met by an imperial envoy, with the usual reproaches, threats, and promises. He did not attempt to conceal the fact of his having come with the Turkish army; but the king and his nobles found themselves now too much in the power of the Greeks to take any notice of their treachery. The highest prices were demanded for bad provisions, and most of the crusaders had to part with the little that remained of their property. Still, though thus



gaining by them, the Greeks were anxious for their departure, and the governor offered ships to convey them to Antioch. The king, on this as on other occasions, evinced a superstitious anxiety to tread in the steps of the first crusaders: but on the remonstrances of his barons, he agreed to accept the offer of the governor. The latter, however, now demanded no less than four marks of silver for each man, and would give so few ships, that only the principal persons could be conveyed in them, and the poorer pilgrims would thus be left without protection in the power of the Greeks. After a delay of five weeks, and the breaking out of a pestilence among the pilgrims, the king—as the land-journey would occupy forty days in a country full of rivers, and mostly in the hands of the infidels—deemed it best to proceed to Antioch by sea, and he made an agreement with the governor and the ambassador by which they engaged for the sum of five hundred marks to conduct the healthy pilgrims to Tarsus, and to take care of the sick and feeble; and when they were sufficiently recovered to convey them by sea to Antioch. Louis then leaving the count of Flanders and the baron of Bourbon with some knights behind, to see to the execution of the treaty, embarked for Antioch, where he arrived after having encountered some of the usual perils of winter navigation.

Hardly was the king gone when the Greeks broke all their engagements. They had assured him that the Turks would make no opposition to the execution of the agreement into which they had entered; but now they pretended that they could not obtain their consent to the passage of the pilgrims. They crammed the sick and healthy together into dark narrow buildings, and would give no food to those who had not money to purchase it, in consequence of which many perished of hunger; the plague, which raged among the pilgrims, also carried off great numbers of them, and their misery was extreme. The count of Flanders and the baron of Bourbon, wearied out by the treachery of the Greeks, got on shipboard, and made sail for Antioch; and seven thousand of the pilgrims in their despair, thinking they could not be worse, set out, without guides or provisions for Tarsus. But the Turkish squadrons were soon upon them,

and after a short conflict they were all slain or made captives.

The magnanimity and generosity of the valiant Turks after this engagement, in which they had broken the power of their once formidable foes, is thus contrasted with the cowardice and cruelty of the Greeks, by one of the original historians of this crusade :—

“ By the blood of these the thirst of the Turks was quenched, and the treachery of the Greeks converted to violence. For the former came back to see those who remained, and then gave large alms to the sick and poor; the Greeks forced the stronger pilgrims to serve them, and gave them blows for wages. Some of the Turks bought our coins of their comrades, and distributed them in handfuls among the poor, while the Greeks took it away from those who had anything left. Shunning therefore their cruel companions in the faith, the pilgrims went safely among the infidels, who pitied them; and, as we have heard, more than three thousand young men accompanied them when they departed. Oh! pity, more cruel than any treachery! Giving bread they took away faith; though it is certain, that satisfied with service they did not force any one to deny his faith.”

The Greeks of Satalia however did not escape punishment. The plague which the pilgrims had communicated to them rendered their town almost a desert, and if we may believe the not very credible assertion of the Latin historian just quoted, the emperor fined them heavily for having given a market and ships to the French king.

Of the two fine armies, which under the kings of France and Germany had set out for the East, but a slender portion reached the confines of Syria. They perished as in the first crusade by famine, disease, and the Turkish arrows, became slaves to the Greeks and Turks, or returned home poor and miserable, without having performed their vow. Making all allowances for their own imprudence and other faults, the main cause of their sufferings were the treachery and cupidity of the Greeks, who, incapable of appreciating the religious motives which actuated the greater number of them, viewed their piety as only the mask assumed to cover their designs on the empire. Instead therefore of behaving toward them as brethren, they

united with the infidels to destroy them, and thus, by their short-sighted policy, effected the destruction of two armies, whose forces, if unbroken, might have sufficed to annihilate the power of the Turks in Asia Minor, and secure the Greek empire for a long time. But they only augmented the hatred toward them which was become hereditary in the bosoms of the Latins! and a heavy day of reckoning at last came, a day which saw a Latin emperor seated on the throne of Byzantium!

#### STATE OF SYRIA.

**I**T is time for us now to return to Syria, and view the condition of the Christian and Moslem states in that country.

The power of the Attabeg Noor-ed-deen now extended from the Tigris to the confines of the Christian states; he was married to the daughter of Anar, who ruled at Damascus in the name of its indolent luxurious emir, and whose policy was entirely directed by the Attabeg, who had fixed his own residence at Aleppo, to be near the Franks, against whom all his projects were directed.

Noor-ed-deen was by far the most formidable foe the Christians had yet encountered. His extent of dominion far exceeded that of any of his predecessors, and, unlike them, he was a statesman and general as well as a warrior. The Turkish chiefs, with whom the Christians had hitherto fought, were doubtless as brave as the knights of the West; but satisfied by gaining a victory, they sought not to make it the foundation of permanent advantages. Noor-ed-deen, on the contrary, was thoughtful and prudent, his eye ever fixed on the object before him, and the means of attaining it ever occupying his thoughts. In the day of battle none was more hardy and undaunted than he, and warriors gazed with admiration at his skill in martial exercises, and the grace and firmness with which he sat his horse as he rode. To his subjects he was a just and upright ruler, and he was always vigilant in providing for their security. Pious Moslems honoured in him the most pious and zealous performer of all the duties of religion, and the Christians themselves paid a willing homage to his virtues.

While the Turkish power was thus directed by one su-

perior mind, that of the Christians was split and divided. The queen Melisenda, who ruled at Jerusalem, though masculine and ambitious, was still but a woman, and she could not, like the Baldwins, lead in person her knights to the field; the hot and passionate Raymond of Antioch was odious to the clergy, and the knights followed his banner with reluctance; Raymond of Tripolis, heedless of the common weal, thought only of enlarging his own possessions; and Joscelin, who had lost Edessa, was little anxious to repair his fault by valour in the field and prudence in the council.

The character of the barons and knights, still more than that of their princes, was calculated to inspire fears for the stability of the Frank dominion in the East. They united the habits and vices of Asia and Europe, the name of war was grating to their ears, and they sighed for peace with the Moslems, that they might not be disturbed in their luxurious enjoyments. The knights of the Temple and the Hospital, who were mostly of European birth, had alone escaped the contagion, and they still gallantly defended pilgrims, and did scathe to the heathen.

#### KING BALDWIN'S FIRST MILITARY EXPLOITS.

THE young king Baldwin III. was long excluded from the government by his ambitious mother. She however allowed him to lead the militia of the kingdom to the field. In the year 1145, the first year of the regency of Queen Melisenda, tidings came that a castle which King Baldwin I. had built at the Water of Strife in the valley of Moses,\* had, through the treachery of the people of the valley, fallen into the hands of the infidels. The militia of the kingdom was forthwith summoned to arms, and with the young king at their head, they marched through the valley of the Dead Sea, and over the rocky hills of the Stony Arabia, to invest the castle in which the treacherous people of the valley had shut themselves up. The place was beleaguered, and the artillery employed, but to little purpose. The Christian chiefs then hit on a surer way to success. The valley was covered by a dense wood of olive-trees, from which the inhabitants derived their chief

\* This must have been at Meribah, in the Wady-el-Feiran, near Mount Sinai : see Exod. xvii.; above, p. 173.



support; these they began to cut down and burn, and soon the people in the fort sued for grace, covenanting only for their own forgiveness and the free egress of the Turkish garrison. To these conditions the king assented, and having furnished the fort with a garrison and provisions he returned in triumph to Jerusalem.

Two years afterwards (1147) just at the time that the German pilgrims were setting out from Ratisbon, there came to Jerusalem a Turkish emir, named Tûntash, who governed for the prince of Damascus the towns of Bozra and Sarkhod in the Hauran, offering to put them into the hands of the Christians, if they would protect him against Anar. As these were places of the utmost importance, the barons and prelates of the kingdom readily promised him the aid he required. Prayers for success were put up in all the churches, and at Pentecost the young king set out for Tiberias, taking with him the True Cross. Here the militia of the kingdom assembled, but the barons would not enter the territory of the prince of Damascus, the truce with whom was not yet expired, without a regular declaration of war, and a whole month was consumed in unavailing negotiation. Anar thus got time to collect his forces and call upon Noor-ed-deen for aid. The barons meantime lent a willing ear to Anar's proposals, and were ready to abandon the cause of Tûntash and retire on being compensated for their expenses; but the people, when learned what was going on, were filled with rage, and menaced the barons and knights if they did not instantly lead them to Bozra.

The army then crossed the bridge over the Jordan near the lake of Tiberias, and entered on the region anciently called Gaulonitis; and having passed through the narrow glen of Roöb,\* issued into the plain in which the great fair was annually held. Here they beheld such a multitude of the infidels in arms, that but for shame they would gladly have retraced their steps. They halted for the night to recruit their vigour, and with day set forward resolved to force their way to Bozra. They marched in dense squadrons, and no one was allowed to quit his place for a moment. The enemies assailed them in flank

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\* William of Tyre calls it *cavea Roöb*. It was either a narrow pass, as in the text, or possibly a long pervious cavern running through the mountain. The caverns in this region are immensely large and capacious..

and in front, the arrows fell on them like showers of hail, the heat of the weather was excessive, all the water to be procured was rendered pestiferous by the bodies of dead locusts which lay in it, the knights had to alight from their horses and march with the foot-men to protect them, and even to carry such of them as were exhausted.

In the evening of this toilsome day they reached a town named Adra, within twenty-five miles of Bozra. Here they hoped to obtain good water and repose, but the people of the place retired to their caverns, and as these communicated with the cisterns, when the Christians let down their buckets to draw water, those who were below cut the ropes, and thus disappointed their expectations.

At length, after a toilsome march; of which the difficulties increased every hour, the army on the fourth day came in sight of the town of Bozra; but here the alarming intelligence awaited them, that Tântash's wife had put both the town and the castle into the hands of Anar. The Christians now gave themselves up for lost, and some of the barons even secretly advised the king to mount the horse of John Goman, which was considered the fleetest in the army, and to fly in the night with the holy cross. The young monarch refused, and heroically resolved to share the fate of his warriors. That very night orders for retreat in the morning were given by the herald through the army. But with the appearance of day, the Christians saw the number of their enemies greatly augmented by the arrival of Anar and Noor-eddeen with fresh troops, and they were filled with terror and dismal apprehensions. As they went along they were incessantly assailed on all sides by the squadrons of the Turkish horse. They gallantly repelled their charges, and to deceive them as to their losses they made the sick and wounded sit upright on their horses, holding drawn swords in their hands, and even bound the dead in a similar posture on the backs of horses and camels. The enemy on their side, when a strong wind began to blow, set fire to the bushes, the thistles, and the mustard-trees, which abound in that region, and the flame, the heat, and the smoke caused more annoyance to the Christians than the flights of Turkish arrows. A miracle alone, as they

believed, saved them from destruction. For, in their need, they turned them to the archbishop of Nazareth, who bore the holy cross, entreating him to deliver them, by prayer to God and by the power of the sacred cross, from the affliction which they were no longer able to endure. The bishop then raised the cross and held it towards the flames, praying earnestly to God for his faithful people. Suddenly the power of God was revealed! the wind changed on the instant, and blew the flames into the faces of the infidels, who, amazed at the prodigy, gave the Christians ease for some time.

The distress of the Christians was soon however as great as before, and the barons, fearing that the people never could hold out, resolved to send an envoy to Anar, with a humble request for peace and an unmolested retreat. There was only one person in the army acquainted with the Arabic language; this was a knight, who was strongly suspected of having, on a former occasion, betrayed his Christian brethren to the infidels. Him however they resolved to send to Anar, and as, in giving him the commission, they manifested some symptoms of distrust, he made the most solemn asseverations that their suspicions were without foundation; he even, it was asserted, called on God, and prayed, that if he was guilty of what they charged him with an arrow from the bow of an infidel might strike him before he reached the presence of Anar. He scarce had quitted the Christian ranks, when a Turkish arrow came whizzing, and stretched him lifeless on the plain.

As the Christians were engaged in a narrow pass, they suffered great annoyance from a troop of Arab horsemen, headed by the four sons of a distinguished emir, who hung continually on their flanks. A Saracenic horseman, in the suite of Tûntash, heedless or ignorant of the orders given, that no one should quit his place in the army, gave spurs to his horse, and levelling his lance charged in among the Arabs. With his sword he smote one of the emir's sons, who fell dead on the spot; and he then turned his horse, and came back uninjured to the Christian host. The death of their young prince caused such confusion among the Arabs that they left their ranks, and collected about his body gazing on it, and lamenting

aloud; meantime the Christians pursued their way unmolested through the pass, and emerged into the plain. The chiefs cheerfully pardoned the Saracen his breach of orders, which had proved so useful to the army.

As soon as the Christian army was off the territory of Damascus, Anar signified his wishes for a renewal of amity. When, after several days of toil and danger, the Christians were come to the pass of Roöb, messengers came from him to say that at the other side of it he had provided for them an abundant supply of provisions. Fearful of treachery, the Christian leaders resolved not to go through that pass, but to take a circuitous route over the mountains, with the way through which no one in the army was acquainted. Heaven however, as the archbishop of Tyre was assured by eye-witnesses, again interposed to save them. A man in armour, with a dress over it, the sleeves of which came down only to his elbows, mounted on a white horse and bearing a red banner, suddenly appeared, and went before them. Each evening he was seen to vanish, with morning to return; he led them by the best and nearest ways, indicated the most commodious places for encampment, and where the most wholesome water was to be procured. Guided by this celestial envoy they reached in three days the town of Gadara, though in their march to Bozra they had spent five days in going from that place to the pass of Roöb. The following day they came to Tiberias, and thence proceeded to Jerusalem, where their arrival caused great joy, as their safety had been despaired of. They proudly but truly boasted, that since the Christians first won the Holy Land, so perilous an expedition had not been accomplished as this of theirs, or such valour, perseverance, and prudence displayed.

Tüntash, some time after, imprudently venturing to return to Damascus, without having obtained a pardon, was by order of Anar deprived of his sight, and then left to pass the remainder of his days in poverty and misery. The bishop of Tyre says he was lured to Damascus by Anar, and then blinded. The Arabian historian asserts that his return was voluntary, and that he was blinded on the complaint of his own brother, whom he had formerly treated in a similar manner.



## THE PILGRIMS IN SYRIA.

**K**ING Louis, on reaching the territory of Antioch, was received with the utmost courtesy and hospitality by Raymond, its prince, who was uncle to Queen Eleanor, being brother of the late count of Poitou. The motive of Raymond however was a selfish one; for he hoped by these marks of kindness to induce the king, ere he continued his journey to Jerusalem, to aid him with his forces in the redemption of Aleppo, Cæsarea, or some other of the adjacent towns. For the attainment of this object he relied much on the influence of his niece, and he omitted nothing to make their abode in Antioch agreeable to her and the ladies of her suite. Eleanor, a lover of pleasure and flattery, was easily gained, and she did all in her power to induce Louis to prolong his stay; but the piety or the weakness of the king was proof alike against her entreaties, and the arguments and eloquence of Raymond. To worship at the tomb of Christ was in his eyes a more important duty than to acquire additional bulwarks for the Christian dominions in Syria.

Deceived in his expectations, Raymond now sought to be avenged on Louis, by inciting his queen to seek a divorce on the plea of consanguinity. It is intimated by historians, that the queen, wearied of the coldness and jealousy of her husband, had already contemplated her future union with the gallant and pleasure-loving young count of Anjou. At all events, the freedom of her manners while at Antioch caused much annoyance to her pious spouse. She treated various knights with a very culpable degree of familiarity, and she was strongly suspected of an acquaintance, by no means innocent, with a handsome young Turk. She therefore lent a willing ear to the malicious suggestions of the prince of Antioch, and it was even planned that he should take her by force, or by artifice, from the king, if he would not part from her willingly. This however coming to the knowledge of Louis, he departed secretly from Antioch, forcing his faithless spouse to accompany him.

On coming to Tripolis, Louis was received by the patriarch of Jerusalem, whom Queen Melisenda had sent thither, to invite him to come to the holy city without

delay; for she feared that the count of Tripolis might engage him in some project to his own advantage. The ardour, however, of Louis to visit the sacred places wanted no incentive, and no prospect of gain to himself or others could divert him from it.

The greater part of the pilgrims who had chosen the passage by sea, now (1148) arrived in the ports of Syria. They had aided King Alfonso of Portugal to take Lisbon from the Moors, and were anxious now, in imitation of their blessed Lord, to enter the holy city on Palm Sunday, and to celebrate there his crucifixion and resurrection. King Conrad, Duke Welf, Frederic of Suabia, and the other German princes, who had spent the winter at Constantinople, also arrived with a Greek fleet in Easter week at Ptolemaïs. They thence proceeded to Jerusalem, where Conrad took up his abode in the mansion of the Templars; he visited all the holy places, and then travelled through and examined the whole of the kingdom. At the seaports he laboured by arguments and gifts to prevail on the knights and the able-bodied pilgrims, who having performed their vows were preparing to depart, to remain and aid in some enterprise against the heathens. From Ptolemaïs he sent on St. John's day to King Louis, who was now at Tyre, an invitation to meet him and concert measures for the protection of the Holy Land. The place of meeting was a pleasant grove of palm-trees, half-way between Tyre and Ptolemaïs, and at their interview, we are told, the two monarchs displayed a degree of pomp and magnificence highly displeasing to the eyes of pious persons, who recollected the great losses they had sustained and the misery their people had endured.

King Louis, who had appeared so anxious to make an early visit to the holy places, did not make his entry into Jerusalem till the end of June or beginning of July. All the pilgrims who had resolved to stay and fight were now assembled there, and it only remained to decide in what quarter the attack should be made on the infidels. Conrad and several of his princes were for attempting to recover Edessa, as this had been the original object of the crusade, and thus restoring the limits of the Latin possessions in the East. The Syrian barons opposed this project on the grounds of its impracticability, and were for

attacking Ascalon, the capture of which would open a way into Egypt, now in a state of the greatest confusion, or for endeavouring to obtain possession of Damascus, and thus prevent this important city from falling into the hands of Noor-ed-deen. As unanimity could not be obtained, it was agreed that the two kings, their princes, and barons, should go down to Ptolemaïs with the king, the patriarch and barons of Jerusalem, and the masters of the two military orders, and there deliberate on this important affair. In the council held there, as King Conrad yielded to the arguments of the patriarch and the king of Jerusalem, Damascus was selected as the object of attack, and orders were issued for the troops to assemble at Tiberias.

#### SIEGE OF DAMASCUS.

**I**N the burning month of July the three kings led their troops in magnificent array to Tiberias. Joy and festivity prevailed in the Christian camp, and, full of hope and confident of victory, the warriors, accompanied by the patriarch, bearing the True Cross, set forth to win the ancient capital of Syria.

They took the road along which the Apostle Paul, while yet a persecutor, had journeyed. At Paneas they halted and held a council of war. Having arranged their plans they again set forward, and crossing Mount Hermon and Antilibanus arrived at the village of Daria, whence the view extends over the fertile plain in which the city of Damascus stands. In that place, not far from the spot where, as tradition says, the apostle was struck with light from heaven, the princes arranged the order of their march. The van was assigned to the troops of Jerusalem, as the expedition was from the kingdom, and as they were best acquainted with the country; the French pilgrims, under their king, occupied the centre; King Conrad and his Germans took their station in the rear. In this order, the Christian army of ten thousand or twenty thousand horse, and sixty thousand foot (according to the Oriental historians) descended into the plain.

The city of Damascus, one of the most ancient in the world, lies in a fertile valley, bounded by Mount Casius on the north, and by Antilibanus on the west; the river

Barradi (the Pharpar of Scripture) flows through the valley westward of the town, and being divided into an infinite number of canals, diffuses verdure and fertility among the gardens, which extend for nearly two leagues between the city and the mountains. The spring of Tinja also pours its waters down the side of the mountain to augment the verdure of the plain, and this union of water and verdure, so delicious to the senses of the Orientals, has led the Arabian geographers to regard Damascus as one of the three terrestrial paradises.\* They style it the mole on the cheek of nature, the plumage of the peacock of paradise, the brilliant neck of the ring-dove, and the collar of beauty. Mohammed himself pronounced it thrice blessed, "for the angels of God," said he, "spread their wings over it." Numerous associations render it venerable in the eyes of Christians as well as Moslems. Mount Casius is said, by the latter, to have witnessed the murder of the righteous Abel; it was in this region that, according to tradition, the patriarch Abraham first saw the light, and the house of the mother of Jesus augments the sanctity of Damascus.

Against this stately city the Christian army was now approaching. The leaders had determined to attack it on the west side, where the possession of the gardens, and of the streams that flowed through them, would assure an abundance of refreshment. One broad road led through the gardens to the city, from which went off on either side numerous byeways, which divided the gardens from each other, and gave the defenders the means of attack on an army advancing along the highway. Anar had placed behind the garden walls, which were built of large bricks baked in the sun, men armed with spears, which they thrust through small apertures in the walls, and pierced the Christians as they passed, while archers kept up an incessant discharge of arrows on them from the turrets and summer-houses. All the population of Damascus were under arms; he who had not sufficient strength to take the field provided himself with a bow and arrows, and ascended the turret of his garden to do the enemy all the mischief in his power; the sheikhs and

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\* The other two are Granada in Spain, and Brusa at the foot of the Mysian Olympus in Lesser Asia, the first capital of the Ottomans.



monks grasped swords and bows to share in the victory, or to die in the cause of Allah and the Prophet. The wells and cisterns had all been filled up, and the provisions and forage removed from the adjacent villages.

The Christians succeeded however in making themselves masters of the gardens; but as all the canals had been destroyed, they found that they must also get possession of the bank of the river, to refresh themselves and their horses after the toils of the day. At an agreeable spot named Rabua, where is a cave in which, according to the tradition of the Moslems, the cradle of Jesus (upon whom be peace!) had lain, a severe conflict took place between them and the choicest of the Damascene troops, headed by Anar in person; with him was the emir Nejm-ed-deen (*Star of Religion*), Eyub (Job), the founder of a renowned dynasty, and his sons, Shahin-shah and Salah-ed-deen (Saladin), afterwards so renowned, then but eleven years old. Shahin-shah fell bravely fighting near the gate of the city; the greatest valour was displayed by Anar, who repeatedly charged the boldest of the Christian warriors. In vain the troops of Jerusalem, which first reached the river, sought to drive back the heathens; they gave not way before their swords and spears. At length King Conrad, impatient of delay, rushed with his cavalry through the French, and came to share in the fight. He and his knights, as was then frequently done by the German chivalry on such occasions, dismounted from their horses, and advanced on foot against the heathens. The blows given by the vigour of a German arm fell not without effect, and both Christians and Moslems beheld with terror and amazement King Conrad himself, with a huge blow of his sword, cut off the head and left shoulder and arm of an infidel, who was in full armour. The Moslems gave way, and retired before the prowess of the Germans, and the Christians remained in quiet possession of the bank of the river.

According to the Mahommedan writers, two distinguished ministers of their religion obtained the glory of martyrdom on this occasion, namely, the Sheikh Yûssuf, a native of Africa, and the Fakee Affendû-'l-abî. When Anar saw the former advancing to battle on foot, he went up to him and said, "Venerable Sheikh, this is not re-

quired of thee ; we will fight in thy stead ; thou hast no strength for the fight." But he replied, " I have sold, and I now buy, and will neither break the bargain myself, nor suffer it to be broken by others ;" alluding to a passage of the Korân, according to which God has purchased the souls and the goods of believers, and has assured them of paradise in return. As they drew nigh to the Christians, he said to the Fakee, " Are those the Romans ?"—" Yes," replied the other. " How long shall we fight against them ?"—" As long as is determined in the secret council of God." They were both slain on the same spot, and it is said that the Sheikh appeared that very night to a learned imâm, and assured him that he had been admitted into the garden of Eden, and was among those who see God face to face.

Dismay and terror meanwhile prevailed in Damascus. Old men, women, and children, covered themselves with ashes, and implored of God to blot out the sins of the Mohammedan people. The Korân written with his own hand by the khaleefeh Othman, was placed in the middle of the great mosk, and all the people assembled round the sacred volume, and fervently prayed to God for deliverance from the formidable host of the Christians. As these were now encamped on the Meidân,\* all the streets leading thither were blocked up with large beams of timber, in order that if they should force their way into the city during the night, their progress might be retarded long enough to allow of the people escaping at the other side.

But the boldness of the Christians was not so great as the Damascenes in their terror apprehended. They contented themselves with cutting down the trees in the gardens and securing their camp with them. Enraged at beholding the destruction of their beautiful gardens, the Damascenes came forth in the morning to battle.

The conflict lasted from morn till eve, and victory was with neither side. The priest who bore the holy cross was slain, an event which caused great confusion and apprehension among the Christians, and that night the

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\* See p. 258.

Moslems boldly encamped in front of the fortified camp of the besiegers.

During the night reinforcements poured into the Damascene camp. Next day both armies remained inactive, but bodies of Moslems still continued to arrive, and Anar now saw himself at the head of 130,000 combatants. On the fourth day of the siege he led his troops up to the camp of the Christians and offered battle, but they would not come forth, and not venturing to attack their strongly fortified camp, he led his troops back to their quarters.

Envoys from Noor-ed-deen's brother, Seif-ed-deen, prince of Mosul, now came to the Christians, informing them that he was approaching at the head of 20,000 warriors, and requiring them, if they would escape his vengeance, to retire without delay from before Damascus. These were followed by envoys from Anar conveying the same intelligence, and in friendly terms representing to them how idle their hopes were of being able to resist such a power as would soon be arrayed against them. Anar was, in fact, in great perplexity, from which nothing seemed likely to relieve him but a speedy retreat of the Christians. When the danger first menaced him, he had sent to Seif-ed-deen demanding aid: this prince, who was then encamped at Emesa, promised speedy succour, but required that his troops and a governor should be admitted into Damascus, promising to evacuate it as soon as the Christians had retired. Anar however knew that it was not likely he would be able to resist the temptation of retaining so fair a possession as Damascus, and he therefore used every means in his power to induce the Christians to depart, so that he might have no need of aid from the prince of Mosul. The two Western kings and their princes however, as their camp was strong and no want of provisions was yet felt, relying on the aid of God, resolved, rather than run the risk of retreating in the presence of a numerous army, to win a victory or gain the martyr's crown of glory.

While they were thus disposed, it was represented to them by some of the Syrian barons that the better course would be to quit their present position, and remove to the other side of the town, where the wall was built of

nothing but unburnt bricks, and as it was not defended by the river or any works it could easily be taken. The two kings, with their usual imprudence, gave ear to this treacherous advice, and quitting their strong camp, they crossed the Barradi; but soon they found themselves in a region where there was no water, no provisions, and nothing but empty houses and deserted villages. The Damascenes meantime had made themselves masters of the gardens, and closed up all the approaches to them with ponderous beams of timber. The kings further ascertained that the condition of the walls had been misrepresented to them, and that it would take much time and no little labour to effect a breach. No course now remained but a perilous and a disgraceful retreat.

That there was treachery in the advice to remove the camp, is a matter about which there can be little doubt. Three different accounts, all of which perhaps are true, are given of the motives of those who were guilty of it. It is said, in the first place, that the Western monarchs had determined, in case of success, to bestow Damascus on the Count of Flanders, and the jealousy of the Syrians made them prefer seeing it in the hands of the Mohammedans. Again, it is said that the prince of Antioch, out of enmity to the king of France, engaged several of the other Syrian barons to assist in causing the enterprise to miscarry. Finally, we are told that King Baldwin, and the knights of the Temple and Hospital, preferred the certain gain of a large sum of money, which was offered them by Anar, and the establishing a claim on the gratitude of the Moslems, to the dubious and insecure possession of a town so far distant from the limits of their dominions; and that the bargain of a retreat, for three vessels full of gold byzants, was concluded with Anar by the Templars, whose post was in the more advanced part of the camp. At all events, the pilgrims were the victims of treachery; but it is gratifying to learn that the traitors were no gainers, for the byzants on being examined proved to be nothing but copper gilt. Several pious and simple Christians believed that a miracle had been wrought, to show God's abhorrence of treachery, and that the gold had been converted into copper by the divine power.



As a slight extenuation of the conduct of the Syrian Christians, it should be mentioned that the intelligence of the approach of the Turkish armies may have convinced them that it was no longer possible to take the town, and that they deemed it the wisest plan to get what they could, and force their obstinate European allies to a retreat.

In the middle of the night the Christian army began their retreat, hoping to be a good distance before their departure was perceived. But ere the dawn appeared the Damascene horsemen were upon them, slaughtering the pilgrims, who, exhausted by hunger and fatigue, could make but a feeble resistance. Great was the booty too, in valuables of every kind, the ornaments and pride of the vainglorious crusaders, which fell into the hands of the triumphant Moslems.

At length the baffled pilgrims found themselves in safety within the limits of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In the camp, before Damascus, the Syrian barons had solemnly promised the two kings to aid them faithfully in an attack on Ascalon; but though it was, as it would appear, their interest that this place should be taken, they could not bring themselves to fulfil their engagements. "We came," wrote King Conrad to his friend the abbot of Corvey,—“we came before Ascalon, true to our engagements, but found there scarcely any of the Latin Christians; and having waited nearly eight days for them we came back, deceived by them a second time.

#### RETURN OF THE PILGRIMS.

THE German princes were now quite wearied out, and they resolved to quit the scene of disgrace and treachery. Duke Welf embarked at Ptolemaïs, and landing in Apulia proceeded to his paternal possessions. King Conrad, his brother the bishop of Frisingen, the Duke of Suabia, and several other princes, embarked at the same place, and sailed for Constantinople. On their arrival there, finding that the emperor and empress were at Thessalonica, they proceeded thither. Duke Frederic returned home through Bulgaria and Hungary, and arrived in Suabia by the Easter of the following year (1149). King Conrad went overland to Illyria, and then proceeded by

sea to Pola, in Istria, and rode thence by Aquileia to Salzburg, where he kept his Pentecost with great pomp and magnificence, after the ancient fashion of the German monarchs.

The French king was not altogether so fortunate. He and several of his barons stayed the winter in Jerusalem, holding however little communication with the nobles of the kingdom. Having celebrated Easter, and witnessed the miracle of the lighting of the lamps in the church of the Resurrection,\* he went down to the sea-coast, and got on shipboard. He had not been long at sea when the vessel he was in was captured by the Greek fleet, which, on account of the war between the emperor and Roger count of Sicily, was cruising in the Mediterranean. Regardless of his quality, the Greeks were taking him and his barons captives to the emperor, when the Sicilian admiral George, coming in sight, attacked the Greeks, and liberated the king of France. Louis, on reaching his home, found that peace and tranquility had been preserved by the prudence and fidelity of the abbot Suger. He forthwith divorced his faithless queen, surrendering her rich inheritance, and she immediately espoused the gay young duke of Anjou, and thus this unfortunate crusade was in some measure the cause of the future wars between France and England.

#### SAINT BERNARD AND THE ABBOT SUGER PLAN A NEW CRUSADE.

THE causes of the failure of the second crusade were the want of ability and vigour of character in the leaders, the vices and insubordination of the pilgrims, and the treachery of the Greeks, which last was in a great measure the result of the ill conduct of the Latins. Hence, though the loss of life was not so great in this as in the first crusade, it was feeble and inglorious in comparison with it. It produced no fruits; the warriors of France and Germany perished in vain, they had not even the consolation of having fought bravely and given a dearly purchased victory to the infidels.

Vast numbers of families in the West were now in

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\* See p. 175.

mourning for their relatives who had perished in Asia. In this state of mind men seldom reason calmly, and moreover causes are almost always judged of by their effects. The abbot of Clairvaux therefore, who had preached the crusade in the name of Heaven, was now by many regarded as a lying prophet, who had falsely asserted a call from Heaven, and by false miracles had lured the people to their destruction. On the other hand, his friend wrote him consoling letters, and he himself, in humble submission to the will of God, bore calmly the reproaches heaped upon him; seeing clearly the true causes of the failure of the crusade, he regarded and spoke of with horror the vices of those who had been on it, and he still firmly believed that another expedition undertaken in piety and meek reliance on the aid of God would be attended with success.

He had now an auxiliary whom he had not expected. The abbot Suger, who had opposed the departure of King Louis and the chivalry of France for Asia, grieved and indignant at the disgrace which had fallen on the martial fame of the French nation, was zealous to efface it by a new crusade. He united heartily with Bernard in his efforts to excite the knights and people to new exertions, but the labours of the two abbots were in vain. Not alone the laity—the clergy, and even the pope, listened with indifference to their exhortations. At the council held at Chartres, on the third Sunday after Easter, in the year 1151, though Bernard and Suger had written earnestly, pressing them to give their presence at it, but few of the prelates and abbots of France appeared. The crusade was resolved on, and Bernard invited to be its leader, an office which he accepted in full assurance that God, who, to punish the sins of those who were on it, had suffered the former one to miscarry, would the more abundantly bless one undertaken in a better spirit.

Still the ardour of the people was not to be excited, and Suger at last, old and feeble as he was, resolved with the funds of his abbey, to raise an army and lead it himself to Asia. He had already remitted large sums to the Templars at Jerusalem for this purpose, when death surprised him in the midst of his preparations. In less than

two years (in August, 1153) he was followed to the tomb by the abbot of Clairvaux, whose death, as it happened to fall on the same week with the capture of Ascalon by the Christians, was regarded by his friends as a convincing proof that God had been with him in his efforts for the defence of the Holy Land.

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## KINGS OF JERUSALEM.

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### KING BALDWIN III.

**A**FTER the departure of the kings of France and Germany, the Latin states in Asia remained exposed to the attacks of the able and powerful Mussulman princes of their vicinity, and cordial union and co-operation, which alone could have saved them, were prevented by the jealousies and dissensions of the princes and barons, who, with their adoption of Asiatic usages and vices, had retained their European habits of feud and rivalry. The king, though but twenty-one years of age, formed a noble exception to the general character. He was possessed of every royal virtue and accomplishment. The great Noor-ed-deen admired and respected his valour and conduct in war; his subjects praised his wisdom in council, his justice, disinterestedness, temperance, and chastity; the clergy extolled his sincere piety, and the oldest barons listened with deference to their young monarch as he expounded the laws and usages of the realm. He was moreover, like his ancestors, large of stature and well-proportioned, and his long yellow hair, which fell on his shoulders, augmented the dignity of his mien. But the duration of the kingdom of Jerusalem was now drawing to a close, and misfortune after misfortune, which no single arm could avert, came on the distracted and disunited realm of the Franks in Asia.

### LOSSES OF THE CHRISTIANS.

**I**MMEDIATELY after the departure of the Western pilgrims, Anar assembled the militia of Damascus in Hauran, and uniting with them some Arab tribes and Turkman hordes laid waste the land, till the Christians were forced to sue for peace. Noor-ed-deen invaded

the territory of Antioch, and took several castles. Raymond, by falling on the Turks while reposing at noon, gave them a defeat; but Noor-ed-deen soon returned with a more numerous army, and gained a decisive victory near Bozra; and the imprudent Raymond venturing with a small party to attack the Turks between Apamea and Rugia, and being surrounded by their squadrons and abandoned by his own men, fell valiantly fighting. His head and hands were sent to the khaleefeh at Bagdad; his body was brought to Antioch, and interred in the church of St. Peter. Noor-ed-deen laid waste the whole country to the sea, in whose waves he bathed, to denote his taking possession of it, and he then returned and forced Apamea to surrender. The king, when he learned the death of Raymond, hastened to Antioch; but he was unable to recover the territory which had been lost, and an equitable peace was granted by Noor-ed-deen, to the no small joy of the Christians.

The prince of Iconium also at this time invaded the country about the Euphrates, and laid siege to Tellbasher, and Joscelin found it advisable to purchase a peace, which he did not long enjoy. For having at one time defeated Noor-ed-deen, and taken his armour-bearer prisoner, he sent the armour to the prince of Iconium, the attabeg's father-in-law, saying that he hoped soon to send him a more splendid trophy. Noor-ed-deen vowed vengeance, and he promised a thousand pieces of gold to a Turkman horde, if they would bring him Joscelin dead or alive. The Turkmans watched the count closely, and finding him one day separated from his followers, on the road to Antioch, whither he was going at the call of the patriarch, they made him prisoner. He was conveyed to Aleppo, and he languished in captivity the remainder of his life, a period of nine years. Both Noor-ed-deen and the prince of Iconium ravaged and took the castles of Joscelin's land; and the king, who had come to Antioch, seeing the impossibility of defending it, readily agreed to cede it to the emperor Manuel, whose ambassador was then in that city, and who had troops on the frontiers. The king and the count of Tripolis assembled their cavalry, and proceeded to Tellbasher, to bring the countess and her children from it, and to collect the Latins, who were in it,

and the other forts ; and though harassed by the troops of Noor-ed-deen, they accomplished their object. The Greeks were unable to maintain possession of the country, and before the end of the summer (1150) it obeyed the powerful attabeg.

#### DISPUTES BETWEEN THE KING AND HIS MOTHER.

WHILE the remnant of the country of Edessa was thus ingloriously lost, the kingdom of Jerusalem was agitated by a contest between Baldwin and his mother. The greater part of the barons were dissatisfied at being under the rule of a woman, and the honours and power which she heaped upon her cousin Manasseh, whom she had made constable of the kingdom, augmented their discontent. The king himself was weary of the state of tutelage in which he was held by his mother, and by the advice of his barons he desired to have the ceremony of his coronation performed, as he had now attained his twenty-first year. The queen could not venture to refuse ; but the patriarch and other prudent men, who knew how strong her party was, counselled Baldwin to allow his mother to be crowned with him. The young monarch affected to be convinced, and the approaching festival of Easter (1151) was appointed for the joint coronation. But when the day came, he put off the ceremony, under a feigned pretext, and the next day had himself crowned alone in the church of the Resurrection, and exhibited himself to the people with the crown on his brows. But he soon saw himself obliged to come to an arrangement with the queen, and in an assembly of the barons it was agreed that the kingdom should be equally divided between the mother and the son. The king, who was given his choice, took for himself Tyre and Ptolemaïs, with their districts, leaving to the queen Jerusalem and Neapolis. The barons however soon excited Baldwin to break the treaty ; most of those who were subject to the queen came over to his side, and Melisenda, not thinking herself safe at Neapolis, where she resided, retired to Jerusalem. The king laid siege to Mirabel, a castle belonging to the constable Manasseh, took it, and forced Manasseh, who was in it, to take an oath to quit the kingdom, and never to return on that side of the sea. Having

taken Neapolis, he advanced against Jerusalem, where the queen, dubious of the fidelity of the citizens, shut herself up in the citadel. The patriarch, anxious to save the Holy City from being profaned by a contest between a mother and son, sought to prevail on the king to leave his mother in the enjoyment of what had been assigned to her. But Baldwin was not to be moved; the citizens opened their gates to admit him; during several days he besieged the citadel, which was valiantly defended by the faithful subjects of the queen; a civil conflict polluted the streets of Jerusalem, and much Christian blood was shed. At length another treaty was made, by which the queen agreed to surrender Jerusalem, and to be content with the possession of Neapolis alone.

The king soon afterwards (1152) assembled at Tripolis all the princes and barons, to take into consideration the state of the realm. In this assembly every effort was made to induce the princess Constantia, of Antioch, whose hand the emperor Manuel was seeking for his son, to take some valiant Western noble for her husband. But Constantia, who had tasted the sweets of freedom, rejected all who were proposed to her, and the patriarch, in whose hands the administration of the government chiefly lay, encouraged her in her determination. The attempt was equally vain to reconcile Raymond of Tripolis and his wife, the queen's sister; and Melisenda, seeing the restoration of harmony hopeless, was taking her sister with her to Neapolis, when Raymond, who with some of his knights had accompanied the princess Constantia a part of the way to Antioch, was, as he entered the gate of Tripolis on his return, fallen on and murdered by some of the Assassins. As his eldest son was but twelve years of age, the king sent immediately, inviting the countess to return, and thus the government of Tripolis also fell into the hands of a woman.

In this same year the kingdom of Jerusalem, which had been for so many years free from external disturbance, was invaded by the Turks. Tymurtash of Maradin, and his brothers, of the race of Orthok, thinking the present occasion favourable for making good their claims to it, collected an army, and came and encamped on the Mount of Olives. The greater part of the knights were gone to



the defence of Neapolis, which was an open town; but those who remained, indignant at the profanation of the holy places, sallied from the city, and attacked the heathens with such fury, that they forced them to instant flight; and as the knights hastened from Neapolis to join in the pursuit, and the way to the Jordan was through a hilly and rocky region, but few escaped the Christian sword.

#### SIEGE OF ASCALON.

THIS success stimulated the king to attempt the conquest of Ascalon, the strongest city in Syria. Already had Gaza, to the south of it, been repaired and given to the Templars; the castles of the Christians now surrounded it, and its only communication with Egypt was by sea. All the vassals of the kingdom were summoned to the royal standard; the holy cross was borne by the patriarch Fulcher; the principal prelates and barons, the masters of the orders of the Temple and the Hospital, and several Western pilgrims of rank appeared in the royal army, and on the 24th January, 1153, they encamped full of hope and confidence before the walls of Ascalon.

The city, called by the Orientals the Bride of Syria, lay on a sandy plain, and was built in a semicircular form on the sea-side; it was surrounded by strong walls, with four gates, three on the land-side, and one opening to the sea, which afforded no anchorage, and was so stormy that it was only in serene weather that vessels could approach the town, a circumstance which added to its strength. Ascalon was abundantly supplied with provisions; numerous springs and cisterns, many of which were within the walls, afforded it water, and a brave garrison, double the number of the Christian army, had the task of defending it.

Nothing decisive occurred in the first two months of the siege; each day the conflict was renewed, and at night the Saracens, to prevent an attack in the dark, displayed along the walls and towers such a number of glass lamps as turned the night into day. The Christians had neither engines nor materials to construct them, till the pilgrims, who arrived at Easter, furnished artists and ships to convey the requisite timber. A huge wooden tower soon ap-

proached the walls, and aided by several other machines, it harassed the garrison. But an Egyptian fleet of seventy sail appeared and drove off the ships of the Christians, and reinforced the garrison, who now became more frequent and daring in their sallies, though the advantage was mostly on the side of the besiegers.

The siege had now continued nearly eight months, when one night the Saracens collected and set fire to, on the walls, a great pile of timber, and fed the flames with pitch and oil in hopes of destroying the great wooden tower; but suddenly there blew a strong wind from the east which lasted the entire night, and the wall was so loosened by the heat that the entire space between two towers fell down, shattering the wooden tower by its fall. The Master of the Templars entered the breach at the head of four hundred of his knights; but anxious, it is said, to possess the whole of the booty, he would allow no one else to follow; the Saracens had retired, thinking that the entire army had entered, but when they saw how few the Templars were, they rallied, surrounded them, slew them all, and hung their bodies on the walls.\* The breach was immediately secured with huge beams of timber. This calamity almost determined the king and his vassals, already weary of the length of the siege and the losses incurred in it, to give it up; and in a council of war held on the third day afterwards, in the tent of the king before the holy cross, all but the patriarch, the prelates, the master of the Hospital and his knights, were for retiring: but the fervid eloquence of the patriarch turned them from these inglorious thoughts, and it was unanimously resolved to attack the town more vigorously than ever. The horns and trumpets summoned the warriors to arms, and they soon were standing in military array; the Saracens advanced boldly from the town to meet them, but they were speedily forced to yield before the valour of those who now vied with the early heroes of the Cross. To the joy and surprise of the Christians, envoys from the town shortly afterwards entered their camp, offering a surrender for a free passage with their

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\* This accusation against the Templars is made by William of Tyre and other writers of the time, yet perhaps it is not just, and the simple fact may be, that the garrison rallied and drove back the Christians who were entering.

portable property for the inhabitants, and a safe-conduct to El-Arish; for the people were grown weary of the siege, and had applied in vain for aid to the khaleefeh of Egypt, and even to Noor-ed-deen. The princes shed tears of joy, and raised their hands in gratitude to Heaven; the terms were readily granted, the royal banner was displayed on the loftiest tower of the town, and as it waved in redundant folds the army saluted it with shouts of joy, and psalms of thanksgiving rose to the Lord. The town was evacuated in two days, and the Christian army then entered it. The quantity of provisions found in Ascalon was so great, that it contributed materially to alleviate the distress caused by the failure of the crop that year, and the surrounding country, which had been for the last fifty years uncultivated, was now partitioned into fiefs and consecrated to agriculture. The king made a county of Ascalon for his brother Amalric, count of Joppa.

#### DAMASCUS OCCUPIED BY NOOR-ED-DEEN.

THE strength which the acquisition of Ascalon gave the kingdom of Jerusalem was counterbalanced by the loss of the alliance of Damascus. After the death of the brave Anar, the prince of that city, Mujir-ed-deen (*Understanding of Religion*) Abek, had taken the government into his own hands, but he was of so feeble a character that he was little more than a vassal to the Christians, to whom he paid an annual tribute. He thwarted all the plans of Noor-ed-deen for the relief of Ascalon, and by his subserviency to the Christians at length so completely alienated the affections of his people, that a secret treaty was entered into by them with Noor-ed-deen, and when the attabeg appeared with his army the western gate of the city was opened to admit him. Mujir-ed-deen fled to the citadel, and sent for help to the king of Jerusalem; but before aid could arrive he was forced to surrender, and he retired to Bagdad, where he passed the remainder of his days in obscurity. Noor-ed-deen now transferred his residence to Damascus, and as he as well as the Christians stood in need of repose, a truce was concluded, and during two years he continued to pay the tribute yielded by Mujir-ed-deen.

The princess Constantia of Antioch having at length resolved to take a husband, fixed her choice on Raynold of Chatillon, a French knight in the service of the king before Ascalon. Scarcely had Raynold taken the reins of government when he seized the venerable patriarch, who had expressed himself somewhat freely respecting the choice of Constantia, cast him into prison, and on a burning hot day of summer exposed him to the rays of the sun with his head smeared with honey, and prohibited under the most severe penalty any one to drive away the wasps and other noxious insects which tormented him. It was not without difficulty that the king procured the liberation of the patriarch, and the restitution of the property of which he and his friends had been robbed.

#### INSOLENCE OF THE HOSPITALLERS.

THE kingdom of Jerusalem was visited (1155) with dearth and famine, and the contests of the Hospitalers with the prelates disturbed the peace of the realm. The popes had greatly favoured the military orders; they had granted them exemption from episcopal jurisdiction and the payment of tithes, and the more important privilege of having divine service celebrated and the sacraments administered by their chaplains in places under interdict and excommunication. By means of these privileges ecclesiastical discipline was rendered of little avail; as the Hospitalers and Templars had houses in almost every town, the excommunicated could always receive the sacraments in them, and in places under interdict the bells of the Hospital sounded, and all pious offerings were diverted to it. The patriarch of Jerusalem attempted to recover his rights, but he met with nothing but threats and insult: they erected a stately building in front of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and whenever the patriarch entered it to admonish the people, or to pronounce the absolution of their sins, the bells of the Hospital pealed forth so loud that no one could hear the words of the prelate. On one occasion the Hospitalers entered the church in arms and shot arrows at the people. The patriarch, though in his hundredth year, undertook with several of his prelates a journey to Rome to seek redress from the head of the church; but



they found the sovereign pontiff and his council already gained by the gifts of their adversaries, and they returned in despair of obtaining any justice. The morals of the Templars were not purer than those of the rival order, and they disgraced themselves at this time by selling for sixty thousand gold pieces to his enemies Nasir-ed-deen (*Victory of Religion*), the son of the Egyptian vizier, who had fallen into their hands as he was fleeing from that country. The knights of the Temple looked on with calm indifference while he was shut up in an iron cage, and placed on a camel to be conveyed to Egypt, where he was put to death with the most cruel tortures.

Baldwin himself was led by his evil counsellors to commit an act which sullies his otherwise fair fame, and which was blamed equally by Christian and by Moslem writers. He had (1157) given permission to some tribes of Arabs and Turkmans to pasture their numerous herds of horses, mules, and asses in the woods near Paneas, and while, in reliance on the royal word, they were unarmed and off their guard, the king suddenly attacked them, made a number of them prisoners, and carried off all their cattle. The misfortunes which befell the Christians in the course of this year were regarded as a judgment on this deed of treachery. Noor-ed-deen was besieging Paneas, and had taken the town, when the king hastened to the relief of the citadel. The attabeg retired, and Baldwin having relieved the place was returning home, attended only by his knights; Noor-ed-deen lay in ambush for them at the Ford of Jacob,\* on the Jordan, and while in the early morning the knights were gaily conversing as they rode along, the Turks suddenly fell upon them, slew several, and took most of the remainder prisoners; all the camp equipage and even the king's chapel fell into their hands, and it was only by flight to the highlands that the prince escaped captivity. The master of the Templars and many other distinguished knights were among the prisoners who were conducted to Damascus, and paraded before the view of the people.

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\* Otherwise named the Bridge of Jacob. It is on the part of the Jordan between Lake Merüm and Lake Tiberias.

## MILITARY OPERATIONS.

COUNT THIERRY of Flanders, who had shared in the last crusade, came now to the Holy Land for the third time; he was accompanied by his wife, Sibylla, the sister of Queen Melisenda, and four hundred knights. The influence of this prince with the young king was considerable, and by his advice Baldwin sought a wife at the court of Byzantium. Manuel, who admired the brave king of Jerusalem, bestowed on him, with a dower of one hundred thousand gold-pieces, Theodora, the daughter of his brother Isaac, a beautiful maiden of but thirteen years. Thierry moreover encouraged the Christian princes to undertake some enterprise against the heathen, and they assembled all their forces, and laid siege to Rugia; but as the garrison made an obstinate resistance, and Noor-ed-deen was approaching, the siege was given over by the advice of Raynold of Antioch, and the princes retired to that city, to consult on some new enterprise. Here, learning that Noor-ed-deen was dangerously ill, and that his dominions were falling into confusion, they resolved to lay siege to the town of Cæsarea, on the Orontes. Joined by Toros, prince of Cilicia, the troops marched from Antioch, and each prince took his station before the town. The resistance offered by the inhabitants was feeble; the gates were forced; the lower part of the town, which lay on the side of a hill, was taken; the castle could not long hold out, and the Christian princes began to dispute about whose the town should be. The Count of Flanders, who longed for a settlement in the East, was urgent in his demand of it; the king was willing to give it to him; Raynold also declared his readiness to assent, provided Thierry would hold it as a fief of Antioch, in the diocese of whose patriarch it lay. But the Count of Flanders would hold of no one but the king; and the contest grew so warm that the siege of the castle was given over, and the army returned to Antioch, having only gained the plunder of Cæsarea.

In the following year (1158) an Egyptian army wasted the land about Gaza and Ascalon, and a fleet swept the coast of Syria. Noor-ed-deen also prepared for war; his general Sheerkoo led the Turkmans into the territory of

Sidon, and he himself laid siege to the hill-fort of Sueta. The king, ever active, marched against him, with the count of Flanders. Noor-ed-deen advanced to meet him; the armies encountered early in the day, (July 15,) at the wooden bridge over the Jordan, where it issues from lake Tiberias. The holy cross, borne by the bishop of Tyre, infused confidence into the Christian warriors, and a glorious victory crowned their arms. The attabeg narrowly escaped captivity; he was for some time almost alone on a hill, and had the Christians known who he was he must have fallen into their hands. The warriors sought not to derive advantage from their victory; the princes and barons returned to their castles, and Count Thierry, after a two years' abode in the East, set out for home, leaving behind him his wife Sibylla, who had taken the veil in a convent at Bethany.

#### THE EMPEROR MANUEL IN CILICIA.

**B**OTH Franks and Turks were now thrown into alarm by the intelligence that the emperor Manuel was approaching the borders of Syria, at the head of a numerous army. This warlike prince, who had raised the fame of the Grecian army in both Europe and Asia, came with the intention of punishing Raynold of Antioch, who, two years before, had in the midst of peace attacked the isle of Cyprus, which had always maintained the most friendly relations with the Latin states of Syria, wasted and ravaged it in a horrible manner, and dragged away its governor, the emperor's nephew, a prisoner. This deed of Raynold was viewed with abhorrence by all the Latin Christians, and the tidings of the approach of the emperor filled him with dismay. There was another prince, also, against whom the arms of Manuel were directed. The Grecian governors of Cilicia, by taking advantage of the mountainous nature of the country, and the difficulties of the Greek empire, had made themselves in a great measure independent. Their territory, which was named Armenia,\* as its rulers were of Armenian origin, extended from near Antioch, sixteen days' jour-

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\* This is the Armenia which is most usually spoken of in the histories and romances of the middle ages.

ney northwards, and two in breadth. It contained Tarsus, Mamistra, Marash, and several other towns. Toros its present ruler, had cast off all allegiance: but he was unprepared to resist, and he fled to the mountains, while the emperor reduced the whole country to obedience.

Raynold, who was disliked by the king and all the princes, saw that he could look to none for aid in averting the storm, or for intercession to mitigate his punishment, and he resolved to seek the clemency of the emperor, in a manner calculated to reflect disgrace on the entire chivalry of the West. Taking with him the bishop of Laodicea and some knights of his household, he repaired to Mamistra, where Manuel then lay. With bare head, feet, and arms, and halters about their necks, Raynold himself bearing in addition a naked sword, they proceeded through the streets to the imperial residence, and having obtained permission to appear before the emperor, Raynold presented him the sword, and stood awaiting his pleasure. King Baldwin, who also came to Mamistra, was received with the highest honours, and the pardon of Toros was granted to his suit. Manuel proceeded thence to Antioch, where he attracted the admiration of the Frank knights by the vigour and dexterity which he displayed in the tourney, and astonished them by the skill with which he set the arm of the king of Jerusalem, who had broken it by a fall at the chase. He sent costly presents to Noor-ed-deen, and negotiated with him a truce and the liberation of his Christian captives; and then to the equal joy of the attabeg and the Latin princes, he set out on his return home, whither urgent affairs now summoned him.

### DEATH OF BALDWIN III.

**B**ALDWIN, during the absence of Noor-ed-deen in Asia Minor, ravaged the land of Damascus, and forced its emir, Eyub, to purchase a truce; but Raynold of Antioch was less fortunate in an incursion which he made into the hostile territory; for the governor of Aleppo waylaid him as he was returning with a large booty, and Raynold, after a short contest, was dragged a captive to that city. Boemond, the son of the late prince Raymond, was now of sufficient age to assume the government of



Antioch, and the marriage of the emperor Manuel with his sister Maria, the fairest maiden of her time,\* contributed to augment his consideration.

As the king, after delivering the princess to the Greek ambassadors, was engaged in repairing the iron bridge over the Orontes, he took, as was his custom at the approach of winter, some purgative medicine. Barak, the Saracen physician of the count of Tripolis, who prepared it, put, it is said, a slow poison into the pills which he gave him. Feeling himself unwell, the king left Antioch, and passed some months at Tripolis in hopes of recovery; but not perceiving any symptoms of amendment he proceeded homewards, and he died on the way at Berytus, in the thirty-third year of his age (Feb. 10, 1162), recommending with his last breath his brother Amalric to the prelates and barons as his successor. The death of Baldwin was mourned by both Christians and Moslems; and Noor-ed-deen, when urged to take advantage of the confusion caused by it, nobly replied, "We must pity and treat with humanity their well-founded grief, for they have lost a prince whose like the world does not now contain."

#### KING AMALRIC.

**A**MALRIC, though several of the barons were adverse to him, was crowned by the patriarch on the eighth day after his brother's death. This prince was, like Baldwin, valiant in war and well skilled in the laws and usages of the realm; he was fond of reading, and curious of learning the manners and customs of distant countries, but he was cold in his manners, and his covetousness led him to make justice venal and to oppress the Church by extortion, though he was exact in the performance of the external duties of religion and in the payment of tithes. Yet he was blamed for his negligence in never seeking an account from his ministers and favourites of the money committed

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\* The imperial envoy John Contostephanos had first wooed for his master Melisenda, sister of the count of Tripolis. But every time she went on ship-board to depart she fell so sick that she had to be brought again on shore. The envoy alarmed at this went into the church, and opening a bible for a response, read: "The wedding is ready, but they which were bidden were not worthy." He interpreted this that Melisenda was not born in lawful wedlock, and he then wooed Maria of Antioch.

to them. Unlike Baldwin, whose youth alone had been stained by weakness with regard to women, Amalric was throughout life faithless to the marriage-bed. At his coronation the clergy obliged him to consent to a divorce between him and his wife Agnes, daughter of Count Joscelin, as being his second cousin, and he espoused Maria, the daughter of a nephew of the emperor Manuel. In person this prince was extremely fat, with breasts, we are told, hanging to his girdle like those of a woman: he was fair-haired like most of his predecessors; he was an enemy to gambling, but greatly devoted to the sport of hawking.

#### AFFAIRS OF EGYPT.

**D**URING the reign of this prince a total revolution took place in the realms of Egypt. The khaleefehs there had, like every royal family of the East, degenerated and sunk into sloth and insignificance. The whole power of the state had fallen into the hands of the viziers, who had even presumed to take the proud title of Sultan; and while the khaleefeh shut himself up in his harem, these ministers retained or lost the supreme power by the chance of arms or the disposition of the soldiery. Sultan Shower held this high post at this time, but shortly afterwards (1163) he was forced to yield to the superior power of Dargam, who had, like himself, risen from the condition of a slave. Shower sought the aid of the powerful Noor-ed-deen, and this politic prince, aware of the importance of getting a footing in Egypt, ordered his general, Sherkoo, to lead an army into that country: the emir obeyed without delay; Dargam gave him battle and defeated him; but that vizier having been shortly afterwards murdered by one of his own people, Shower entered Cairo in triumph and took a bloody vengeance on his enemies. Sherkoo with fifty thousand men held possession of Belbeis, under pretext of keeping Shower to his agreement of giving Noor-ed-deen a third of the net annual revenue of Egypt, but in reality with the design of making himself master of the country.

#### SHERKOO AND SALADIN.

**A**S Sherkoo was on this occasion attended, and in some measure directed, by his nephew Saladin, afterwards

so renowned, we will here give an account of the family from which he sprang. His father, Eyub (Job), was a Koordish warrior, who sought his living by his sword, and leaving his native mountains he entered the service of the sultan of Bagdad: Beeroos, the governor of that city, entrusted him with the government of the town of Takreet on the Tigris, and here, in the year 1137, was born his son Joseph, afterwards named Salah-ed-deen (*Salvation of Religion*). When the attabeg Zenghi was flying, after the loss of a battle, in the wars consequent on the death of Sultan Mahmood, Eyub furnished him with boats to cross the river, and when shortly afterwards Eyub's brother, Asad-ed-deen (*Lion of Religion*) Sheerkoo (*Mountain Lion*), had killed a judge in the heat of his passion, and Beeroos had in consequence driven the two brothers from Takreet, they were joyfully received and employed by Zenghi, who set Eyub over the town of Baalbek. After the death of the attabeg Baalbek was besieged by the king of Damascus, the brothers were forced to surrender, and they passed into the service of that prince, who continued Eyub in his government. They fought at all times bravely in his wars, but their affections were with Noor-ed-deen, the son of Zenghi, to whom they facilitated the conquest of Damascus. Eyub was set by him over that city, and Sheerkoo over Rehabah and Emesa, and both were granted the privilege of seating themselves in his presence without waiting for permission. Sheerkoo is described as a little man, extremely fat, but valiant as a lion, and Noor-ed-deen reposed in him the utmost confidence. Of Saladin his biographer says that he was learned in all the wisdom of the Arabians, especially in the knowledge of ancient history, well instructed in the doctrines of Islâm, and strict in the discharge of his religious duties. But he loved to pass his days in banquets and revelry, and was averse from all public affairs, and more especially from war. It was only the express command of the attabeg which had made him attend his uncle to Egypt.

#### THE CHRISTIANS IN EGYPT.

SHAWER, no longer dubious of the designs of Sheerkoo, sent to propose to the king of Jerusalem, who had been in alliance with Dargam, to enter into an alliance

with him against Sheerkoo, on still more advantageous terms. Amalric at once consented, and the Christian army, under the constable Humphrey of Thoron, joined that of Shower at Belbeïs, where during three months they blocked up the emir and his troops. But while the king, who had now joined the army, was confident of success, he was summoned home in consequence of the advantages gained by Noor-ed-deen. Shower besought him to remain a few days, and meantime he wrote to Sheerkoo, telling him how anxious he was for his safety and setting before him how disadvantageous it would be for Islâm if Belbeïs should be taken by the Christians, as they would then probably insist on retaining it. Sheerkoo lent a willing ear to his representations, and it was agreed that he should evacuate Egypt.

An Oriental historian relates as follows:—While the troops of Syria were going out of Belbeïs, Sheerkoo took his station in the rear with an iron club in his hand. A Frank lately come from the West went up to him and said, “Art thou not afraid lest the Egyptians and the Franks, regardless of their promises, should fall on thee now that they are all around thee?”—“Would to God they did,” said the emir, “thou wouldst see how I should receive them. For every one of my men whom they would kill, many would fall by my sword. Meantime Noor-ed-deen would attack their provinces; they are now enfeebled, their valiant men are dead, we would take their place and exterminate all that remain of them. Ah! if my soldiers had believed me, I should have made a sortie and opened my way by force, but they refused.” The Frank, making the sign of the Cross, said, “We were astonished at what the Franks of Syria told of thee, and of the terror thou causest; I wonder at it no longer.” He then retired.

Noor-ed-deen had seized the occasion of the absence of the king and the chief part of his forces in Egypt, to make a decisive attack on the Christian states. He assembled all the forces of Syria, and wrote to the princes of Mesopotamia to come to his aid. Fakr-ed-deen (*Glory of Religion*), prince of Hisn Khaïfa, refused at first, saying that Noor-ed-deen wore himself out with fasting and prayer, and would ruin himself and his people. His councillors



applauded his wisdom. Next morning Fakr-ed-deen gave his emirs orders to prepare to march. "What!" said some, "yesterday you were of one opinion, and today you are of another!"—"If I do not send my troops," said he, "I shall lose my dominions. Noor-ed-deen has written to the devotees and the recluses, he has told them of the ravages committed by the Franks, of the number of Moslems slain or made prisoners, he has invoked the aid of their prayers, and entreats them to rouse the Moslems to arms. They run all together, read Noor-ed-deen's letter, they shed tears, they curse me and revile me, so I must go and join him."

Noor-ed-deen, having assembled his forces, advanced toward Harem. Boemond III. of Antioch, Joscelin III. of Edessa, Raymond of Tripolis, Kalaman, governor of Cilicia, and Toros the Armenian, collected their troops and set forth to engage him, confident of victory. Noor-ed-deen feigning a flight, drew them out of their order, and falling on them when they were surrounded by swamps destroyed nearly the whole of them. The leaders all became his prisoners. He then made himself master of Harem and Paneas, and would have attacked Antioch, but that the king was in it at this time and was applying at Constantinople for the investiture of it. Noor-ed-deen deemed it better policy to set Boemond at liberty, than let Antioch belong to the emperor or to the king of Jerusalem.

When the king, with the aid of the count of Flanders, who was now for the fourth time in the Holy Land, had endeavoured to regulate its affairs and to accomplish the release of the captive princes and knights, he was recalled to the defence of Egypt. The khaleefeh of Bagdad had, at the instigation of Sheerkoo, called on all faithful Moslems to take arms against the anti-khaleefeh of Egypt, and a numerous army led by Sheerkoo and Saladin (who however was still adverse to war) had entered the deserts of Arabia. King Amalric, who knew that if once the Christian states were surrounded by the Moslems united under one head their existence was at an end, posted himself at Cadesh Barnea\* to oppose them; but finding that

\* The exact site of Cadesh is unknown, but it is supposed to have been at the fount 'Ain Hasb, or, rather, at that named 'Ain-el-Weib eh, both on the west side

they were proceeding more to the east he returned home, and having summoned all his vassals to Ascalon, advanced by forced marches to Belbeïs. Shower, who as yet knew nothing of the designs of Sheerkoo, was suspicious of his allies, till learning that the emir was already at Attasi, he admitted the troops of Jerusalem, who marched along the Nile and posted themselves at Cairo on the right bank of the river. Sheerkoo, whose troops had suffered greatly by a storm in crossing the desert, soon entered Egypt, and before the allied army could arrive to impede him he crossed the river and encamped at Jezza, by the Pyramids. Shower, no longer dubious of his projects against himself and his master, hastened to make a new treaty with the king of Jerusalem, who pledged himself for four hundred thousand pieces of gold not to quit Egypt till Sheerkoo should have been driven out of it.

#### THE COURT OF THE KHALEEFEH.

**A**MALRIC swore to this treaty; but as he required that the khaleefeh should do the same, that pontiff was obliged to consent to grant a sight of his sacred person to Christians, a favour rarely conceded even to the True Believers. Hugh of Cæsarea and Jeffrey the Templar, were led by Sultan Shower to the Cazar, or palace of the khaleefeh. Language failed the envoys to describe all the wonders which they there beheld. The immense number and the strange manners and appearance of the negro guards astonished them; the various birds and quadrupeds, realizing the arbitrary creations of poets and painters, amazed them; and the fountains and basins of water and other provisions of Oriental luxury delighted their senses. Shower conducted them through long dusky passages into a splendid court; thence they were led into another, still more magnificent; and at last they reached an edifice more rich than any they had yet beheld; they there entered a hall whose magnificence sur-

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of the 'Arabah. If such was the opinion at that time, it may have been expected that Sheerkoo would cross Idumæa, and then proceed by the Wady-el-Fikreh or the Wady-el-Murreh, and so by the Wady-el-Arish to Egypt; but that he took the route to the east of Idumæa, and moved more southwards. We may here observe that Mr. Rowlands thinks he has discovered Cadesh in a spot named 'Ain Kadès, due south of Khalasa, in the line of those Wadies, and more to the west of the 'Arabah.—See Williams, *The Holy City*, p. 488 *et seq.*

passed anything that they had a conception of; in the middle of it a silken curtain, richly embroidered with gold and pearls, hung down to the ground; before this the sultan prostrated himself three times. As he cast himself down the third time, he took off the sword which hung from his shoulder, the curtain drew up with amazing rapidity, and the Christians beheld seated on a golden throne, with veiled face and splendid attire, the khaleefeh Al-aded. The sultan knelt before the throne and kissed the feet of the successor of the Prophet, then told the purport of his coming; all present murmured discontent, but the khaleefeh made a gracious reply, and reached, though not without repugnance, his covered hand to Hugh of Cæsarea. The knight declaring that in a treaty there should be nothing hidden or concealed, but all be candid and open, insisted on his giving him his naked hand, a token that he meant with them truly and sincerely. The descendant of the Prophet, though with still greater reluctance, laid his bare hand in that of Hugh of Cæsarea, and repeated after him the words of the oath. The knights were then dismissed with rich presents, and departed by the way they had come.

#### SIEGE OF ALEXANDRIA.

WHEN the two knights returned, it was too late in the day to attempt the passage of the river, and that very night Sheerkoo came, and encamped opposite the Christian army to prevent their passage. The two armies remained for more than a month in this position. At length the Christians collected all the boats they could get, and marching secretly by night down to where the isle of Mahalla divides the Nile, passed over to the island; but a sudden storm prevented their crossing the other arm of the river, and ere long Sheerkoo appeared and encamped over against them. He soon however broke up, and led his army toward Upper Egypt, and the Christians lost no time in crossing over and pursuing him. They came up with him at the narrow pass of Babain (*Two gates*), near the ruins of Hermopolis. In the conflicting accounts of historians it is not easy to ascertain the relative numbers of the two armies; but it is probable that the Egypto-Christian army outnumbered

that of the Turks, while only the Christian knights were engaged. By a stratagem Sheerkoo defeated the chivalry of Jerusalem; a hundred knights fell, and Hugh of Cæsarea and several others were made prisoners. The king led back the fugitives to Cairo, where the Christians were in such favour with the khaleefeh that the defence of the walls and towers was entrusted to them, and they had free access to the royal palace. Amalric encamped at the bridge of boats, which he had been making over the river.

Sheerkoo meantime led his Turks by the edge of the desert to Alexandria, which city opened her gates to him. Amalric followed without delay, encamped near it, and cut off the supply of provisions; the evils of famine were beginning to be felt, when Sheerkoo, entrusting the defence of the town to Saladin, issued from it by night, and directed his course to Upper Egypt. Amalric, joined by Shower and by ships from his own kingdom, pressed the siege; a tower was constructed with the masts of the ships; the city was continually assailed; the beautiful gardens round it were destroyed, to the great grief of the citizens, whom Saladin found it difficult to keep in obedience. At length some of the captive knights came on the part of Sheerkoo, proposing peace, on the conditions of the release of prisoners on both sides without ransom, and the evacuation of the country by both the Turks and the Christians. These terms were joyfully acceded to; the city opened her gates; the royal banner was displayed on the Pharos; friendly relations were established; Saladin took up his abode in the camp with the king, until his uncle should be ready to leave Egypt, and a guard was assigned him, to prevent any insult being offered to him by the over-zealous. Shower gave fifty thousand pieces of gold to Sheerkoo, who left the country, with the weakness of which he was now well acquainted, and which he hoped to conquer at some future period. The Christians, also richly rewarded by the khaleefeh, returned triumphantly to Ascalon.

#### INVASION OF EGYPT.

SULTAN SHAWER, who had granted the Christians great advantages, adhered most faithfully to the

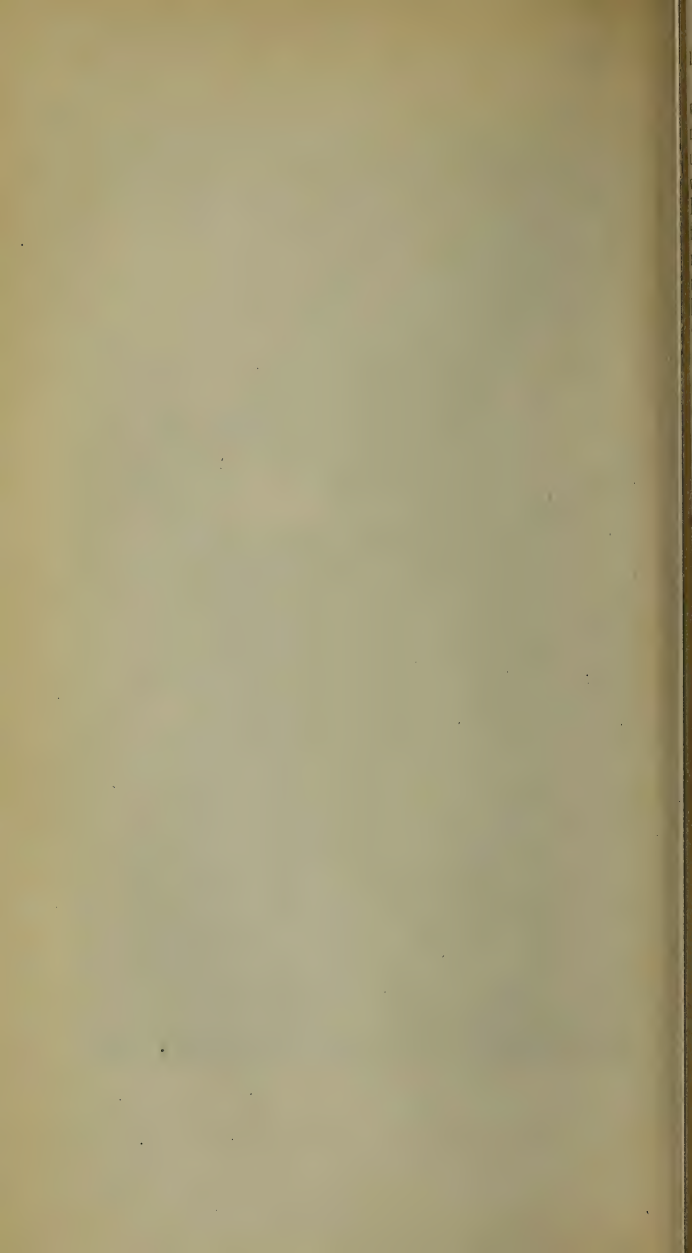


treaty; but the ambition and avarice of Amalric suggested to him the ease of making a conquest of Egypt; he was further stimulated by the master of the Hospitallers, a vain, ambitious man, who had immersed the order in debt by the number of soldiers he kept in pay, and who hoped to relieve himself by the plunder of Egypt, and the acquisition of Belbeïs, which was promised to him in case of success. An accession of force also tended to increase the confidence of the king; the count of Nevers had just at this time brought a large corps of knights to the defence of the Holy Land, and that prince happening to die, his knights readily entered the service of Amalric. The emperor Manuel warmly approved of, and agreed to share in, the enterprise. But such barons and knights as had a due regard for honour and justice openly condemned this flagrant breach of treaty, and the entire order of the Templars, either from conscientious motives or because the plan had originated with the head of the rival order, refused to follow the king, who, in his impatience to rob and plunder, without waiting for his Greek auxiliaries, set out in the autumn of this year (1168), and after a siege of three days took by storm Belbeïs, plundered and burned the town, massacred the inhabitants, and made prisoners the son and the nephew of Shower. He then advanced against Cairo, which if attacked at once would probably have fallen; but the avarice of the king, who thought he should gain more by a large ransom for his prisoners than would fall to his share in the plunder of the city, saved the residence of the khaleefeh. A large sum was in effect offered by Shower, part of it paid, hostages given for the remainder, and the prisoners had been released, when the Christians, who had retired at the desire of the vizier to some distance from Cairo, learned that Sheerkoo was approaching through the desert with a numerous army.

Shower, who had only sought to gain time, had resolved on the hazardous expedient of calling on Noor-ed-deen for aid; the khaleefeh had himself written to the Turkish prince, enclosing after the Oriental fashion, some of the hair of his wives, to denote that they also were supplicants to him, and Noor-ed-deen resolved to send Sheerkoo with an army far superior in number to those



Gate of Victory in Caro.



which he had formerly led thither, and well supplied with money and all other necessaries. Saladin was with the utmost difficulty induced to attend his uncle. In the very presence of Noor-ed-deen he said, "By God, if all Egypt was to become mine, I would not go thither again, for I suffered such privations in Alexandria that I shall never forget them while I live." He was however obliged to obey, and Noor-ed-deen supplied him with money for his outfit. Often afterwards when speaking of it he said, "I went as if it were to death."

Amalric, on hearing of the approach of Sheerkoo, led his army back to Belbeïs, and advanced in the desert to meet him; but finding that he had taken another route, and learning the number of the Turkish host, he deemed it madness to think of opposing them; and he led home his knights covered with shame and infamy.

#### DEATH OF SULTAN SHAWER.

**S**HEERKOO, on his arrival at Cairo, was received with the greatest demonstrations of honour. The khaleefeh presented him with a splendid dress and other rich gifts. Each day Sultan Shawer, with sound of trumpet, clash of cymbals, and flying banners, after the manner of the viziers of Egypt, entered the camp of the Khoordish emir, to hold consultation with him. But soon real or feigned causes of complaint against him arose; the Turks saw, or said they saw, symptoms of his intention not to keep his word, and they accused him of a design to poison the emirs at a banquet to which he had invited them, and Saladin and some other emirs proposed to Sheerkoo to seize and punish him for his treachery. Sheerkoo refused his consent; but he went shortly afterwards on a pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint of his religion, and when, during his absence, Shawer came as usual into the camp, Saladin and his confederates advanced with some armed men to meet him, and Saladin suddenly springing on him dragged him from his horse. The cowardly Egyptians fled; Saladin sent instantly to inform his uncle of the capture of Shawer; and Sheerkoo, as was expected, applauded the deed. The khaleefeh Adad, when he learned what had happened, was pusillanimous enough to send to demand the execution of the vizier; and when the head of Shawer



was brought to him he bestowed his office on Sheerkoo in terms of honour, such as had never before been used. The sons of Shower speedily disappeared; but Sheerkoo enjoyed his dignity only two months. On his death the khaleefeh named Saladin his successor, deeming that as he was young and of little authority he could be more easily held in obedience than one of the more powerful emirs. Saladin, who certainly had contemplated no such elevation, felt or affected the utmost reluctance to accept the office; at length his resistance was overcome, and he saw at his disposal the entire of the treasures and the resources of Egypt. His unbounded liberality, and the eloquence of his friend the Fakee Issa, gained the emirs who had been his competitors, and only one of them returned to the service of Noor-ed-deen.

The character of Saladin was now observed to undergo an entire change. Hitherto he had been impetuous and devoted to pleasure; he now became grave and serious, interdicted himself the use of wine, and all frivolous amusements, and devoted his whole attention to the duties of his office. He still styled himself nothing more than the servant of Noor-ed-deen, who, more generously than prudently, allowed at his request his father and family to go and join him in Egypt. In this, says his biographer Boha-ed-deen, Saladin also resembled his namesake, the patriarch, who brought his father and his brethren into Egypt.

Noor-ed-deen was however aware of the fault he had committed in sending Sheerkoo a third time into Egypt, and he manifested the greatest uneasiness when he heard of his having been appointed to the vizieriat of that country. The succession of Saladin disquieted him still more, and he now saw in prospect the future ruin of his family.

#### SIEGE OF DAMIETTA.

BY their own guilt and folly the Christians now found themselves completely surrounded by the territories of the formidable Noor-ed-deen. Even the sea, from which he had been formerly excluded, was now open to him, and it was with danger that vessels could convey pilgrims to the Holy Land. Their pressing embassies to

the West for aid met with no attention, owing to the state of affairs there at this time and the aversion to the Pullani on account of their treachery toward the kings of France and Germany in the last crusade.

At length the fleet and army promised by the emperor Manuel arrived off the coast of Syria, and after a delay caused by the Latins, which gave Saladin time to prepare for defence, the siege of Damietta was resolved on. The troops of Greece and Jerusalem proceeded by land, preceded by the Grecian fleet, which took them across the Nile at Pharomía, and in two days they reached Damietta; but instead of attacking it at once they waited for the arrival of the fleet, and when it came they found the entrance of the river impeded by a strong chain. They still deferred the assault, and Saladin threw a sufficient number of troops for its defence into the town. The conduct of the siege was a series of errors. A wooden tower which they built was directed against the strongest part of the walls, and it soon became useless. The Greeks, who had been furnished with money for three months only, began to experience the horrors of famine, and the Latins, so far from relieving them, separated their camp from theirs; the Turks, by means of a fire-ship, burnt ten of their vessels; a report was spread that Noor-ed-deen was advancing to the aid of Saladin; the heavy rains which now (it was November) began to fall destroyed their stores and tents, and it was resolved to make peace and to retire. On the mere report of a peace, the Greeks, whose valour during the siege was unquestioned, set fire to their machines, and after having fruitlessly spent fifty days before Damietta the Christians concluded a peace with Saladin, and returned to Jerusalem, whence the Grecian army proceeded home by land; the greater part of the fleet was destroyed on its return by a storm.

A dreadful earthquake, which levelled the towns and destroyed the people of Syria and Palestine, caused a cessation of war in the following year; but scarcely had the Christians recovered from the dejection produced by this calamity, when they learned that Saladin was on his march with a numerous army against the kingdom. Amalric hastened to Ascalon, and there he found that

Saladin was besieging the fortress of Daroom, near Gaza. The king summoned his vassals to come to its relief, but few obeyed his call; and he had with him only two hundred and fifty knights and two thousand foot-men, when from the summit of a hill he beheld the numerous host of Saladin advancing. Terror seized the Christians at the sight of forty thousand heathens, but they closed their ranks, and though fiercely attacked, forced their way to the fortress. Saladin went on in the evening, and next morning appeared before Gaza; the inhabitants, who were mostly husbandmen, wished to take refuge in the citadel, as the walls were weak, but Milo de Plancy, who commanded there, refused to admit them; and the Turks, forcing their way into the city, massacred a number of the defenceless people. Saladin, whose only object at present was to disquiet the Christians, then led his troops back to Egypt, and the Christians were soon appalled by the tidings of his having taken the town of Ailah on the Red Sea, of which they had hitherto held possession.

#### POWER OF SALADIN.

SHORTLY afterwards Adad, the Egyptian khaleefeh, died, assassinated, if we are to believe the report of the Christians, by Saladin's own hand; of a natural death according to the Orientals.\* The immense treasure of which Saladin now became possessed he distributed with lavish generosity among his emirs and soldiers, in order to secure their attachment. In his conduct toward Noor-ed-deen he acted with the greatest circumspection; for he offered to resign his office of vizier to his father Eyoob, but the old man contented himself with becoming treasurer under his son. The suspicions of Noor-ed-deen were first awakened after the death of the khaleefeh, by the languor with which Saladin carried on the siege of the castle of Kerac;† for as this fortress commanded the road from Damascus to Egypt, Saladin deemed it more

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\* Though William of Tyre is among those who accuse Saladin of this crime, it is an exceedingly improbable one. It was a thing repugnant to his nature, and it was in no way for his interest; why then would he commit it?

† Kerac, the ancient Kir-Moab, also named Petra, was situated on a steep rock in the Wady Deraah, which runs eastward from the peninsula of the Dead Sea.

for his interest that it should for the present remain in the hands of the Christians, lest Noor-ed-deen might make his appearance on the banks of the Nile. The attabeg menaced, Saladin was about to return a defiance, when the prudence of his father suggested the expediency of mildness and humanity; and shortly afterwards the death of Noor-ed-deen delivered Saladin from the guilt of taking arms against his lord and benefactor.

#### VISIT OF AMALRIC TO CONSTANTINOPLE.

THE talent and activity displayed by the present ruler of Egypt excited the utmost alarm in the Christians, who could not conceal from themselves that by their perjury and breach of faith they had mainly contributed to his elevation; and they consulted long and anxiously on the means of averting the gathering storm. It was proposed to renew their application to the Western princes, but this course was abandoned as desperate, and their hopes centred in the Emperor Manuel, whom the king, contrary to the remonstrances of his barons, determined to visit in person, and in the beginning of March, 1171, he set out with a fleet of ten galleys, attended by the bishop of Ptolemaïs, and Garmund of Tiberias, and four other barons. The late master of the Templars, Philip of Naploos, proceeded by land to announce his approach.

The reception of Amalric was the most splendid that the court of Byzantium had ever given to any foreign prince. His father-in-law, the Protosebastos, with a magnificent retinue, awaited him at Gallipolis; he was allowed, when he arrived at the imperial city, to land at the flight of marble steps appropriated to the emperor; through rows of richly attired courtiers and officers he and his barons proceeded to a splendid hall of the palace, from whose roof depended a magnificent curtain, behind which some of the chief personages led the king, and Manuel, who was there seated on his golden throne, rose to salute him. The curtain drew up and displayed to the Franks the emperor on his throne, and their king on a lower seat beside him, and they drew near and were admitted to the kiss of peace. Each day the strangers were regaled with the exhibitions of the theatre and the circus, the dances of maidens, and the ravishing tones of vocal



and instrumental music; the churches and their treasures were open to them, and they enjoyed the felicity of contemplating the cross, nails, spear, sponge, reed, crown of thorns, fine linen, and sandals, which had been hallowed by the contact of the Son of God. Manuel entered readily into the proposed alliance against the heathen, notwithstanding the conduct of the Franks at Damietta, and promised a powerful co-operation. Amalric and his suite returned laden with presents, and soothed by courtesy and attentions.

But the promised succours never appeared in the Holy Land; and in Cilicia, on the death of Toros the ally of the Franks, his brother Malich, who had hitherto lived by robbery, drove, with the aid of the Turks, his nephew Thomas from the government, and broke off all friendship with the Latins, and seized on all the property he could find of the Templars, to whose order he had formerly belonged. The Latin princes united their forces and invaded his territory, but owing to the nature of the land they could only burn the villages and corn-fields; and the intelligence that Noor-ed-deen was besieging the castle of Kerac or Petra in Arabia soon recalled them from Cilicia. The attabeg retired on hearing of the return of the king. A few months afterwards Saladin assailed the fortress of Montroyal,\* but at the appearance of Amalric and his chivalry he departed, after wasting the land. He again returned after some months; the king occupied a hill near Carmel, not far from the Dead Sea, once the dwelling of the churlish Nabal; but Saladin gave no opportunity for fighting, and he carried his booty to Egypt.

#### EMBASSY OF THE ASSASSINS.

AT this time (1172) there came an embassy from Sinan, the Dai-el-kebir or chief of the Assassins of Mount Lebanon, with offers of himself and his people embracing the Christian religion, on condition of the Templars remitting the tribute of two thousand gold-pieces paid them by those of his subjects who resided near their castles. It was in all probability worldly prudence that actuated Sinan, but the king, anxious to make so important a pro-

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\* This place, named in Arabic Kerac-esh-Shobak, lay to the east of Jebel or Edom, north-east of Wady Musa and Petra in that region.

selyte, inquired not into his motives; the treaty was concluded. Amalric engaging to reimburse the Templars out of his own revenues; but as the envoy was returning, accompanied by an officer of the king's, and had just entered on the territory of the Assassins, he was fallen on from an ambush, and slain by a Templar named Walter du Mesnil. The king was incensed at this act of treachery; he assembled a council of his barons at Sidon, and sent two knights to demand the murderer from Odo of St. Amand, the master of the Temple. The haughty master replied that he had already imposed a penance on brother Walter, and had ordered him to repair to Rome and await the further pleasure of the pope; that meantime he, in the name of the Holy Father, forbade any violence against the said brother. The king however, with the advice of his barons, had the assassin dragged from the Temple-house, and thrown into prison at Tyre. The news of the death of the attabeg Noor-ed-deen, who died (May, 1173) as he was preparing to march against Saladin, aroused the king, who did not emulate the magnanimity displayed by the son of Zenghi on the death of Baldwin III., and he gathered his forces and laid siege to Paneas; but unable to take it he retired on receiving a sum of money and the liberation of twenty captive knights. A dysentery, caught during the siege, carried off king Amalric in the month of July, in the thirty-eighth of his age and the twelfth of his unquiet reign.

#### ANECDOTES OF NOOR-ED-DEEN.

IN Oriental history, as political liberty is unknown in the East, the ruler is everything, the people nothing; hence anecdotes of kings and nobles form so large a portion of it. The acts and the sayings of distinguished princes are carefully collected and noted, and when, as in the present case, the hero of the narration was a man of real virtue and talent, they interest perhaps more than even the fate of empires.

Respecting Noor-ed-deen, the author of the History of the Attabegs already quoted gives us the following information:—

Noor-ed-deen died at the age of fifty-eight lunar years, leaving an empire extending really or nominally over

Syria, Egypt, Arabia, and a part of Mesopotamia. In person he was tall, his complexion was brown, his forehead broad, his eyes expressive of mildness, his countenance agreeable; he had no beard except under his chin. His life, the historian asserts, excelled in purity those of all other princes before and after Mohammed, the first four khaleefehs and the khaleefeh Omar, son of Abd-al-Aziz, alone excepted.

Notwithstanding the extent of his dominions and the largeness of his revenues, Noor-ed-deen clothed and supported himself solely from the private property which he had acquired by the sale of his own share of the booty gained in war. He used neither silk, gold, nor silver (such luxuries being prohibited by the Prophet) in his raiment; he drank no wine himself, and permitted not the sale of it in his dominions. The allowance which he made his wife, Radi Khatoon, was so very moderate that it scarcely sufficed for her support. She employed a friend to remonstrate with him on the subject, but Noor-ed-deen, reddening with anger, cried, "Where does she want me to get wherewithal to supply her expenses? I will not have myself condemned to the flames of hell for her. If she thinks that the money I have in charge is mine, she is mistaken; it belongs to the Moslems. I am but their treasurer, and I will not, to gratify her, become a faithless guardian of it." He then reflected a little and said, "I have still three shops remaining at Emesa; let her take them, I give them up to her." These shops, the writer observes, yielded but a very trifling revenue.

"I have been told," says this author, "that Noor-ed-deen received one day from Egypt a turban of a very fine stuff adorned with gold, but he would not even look at it. He deigned not to pay any attention while they were describing it to him, and a Soofee\* happening to come in, he made him a present of it. It was in vain they said that such a turban did not suit a Soofee. 'Leave it with him,' said he; 'I hope that in place of this turban God will give me something better in the next life.'"

Our author further observes that he set an example of a pure and righteous life to all the kings of his time. "Is

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\* That is, a mystic devotee.

it not true," says he, "that the kings before him lived as in the old time of ignorance, slaves of their belly and of luxury, making no difference between good and evil? With Noor-ed-deen, on the contrary, God, as it were, returned to the earth. This prince attended to what religion enjoins and what it forbids; he made his people, his servants, the officers of his household, practise its precepts; he brought all the world to it by his example. Now is it not true that he who does good will be rewarded for the good he has done and has caused others to do for ever and ever?"

Noor-ed-deen had the highest respect for law and justice. Here is an example. As he was playing at mall one day in the square of Damascus, he perceived a man who was talking of him to another, and pointing to him. He instantly sent to ask what the man wanted. He replied, "I have a complaint to make against Noor-ed-deen on the subject of such and such a property; let him come to the tribunal and plead his cause." As soon as Noor-ed-deen heard this he left off playing, and went and presented himself before the *cadi*, saying, "I am come hither to defend my own interest, do by me as by every one else." The trial began, the plaintiff produced his reasons, Noor-ed-deen showed the proofs on his side, and it appeared that the man was in the wrong. Noor-ed-deen then, turning to the *cadi* and those present, said, "I knew that this man's claim was not just, but I have appeared here lest any one should think I wished to wrong him. Now that it has been clearly shown that the right is on my side, I will give him the property for which he has cited me hither. Ye are witnesses that I give it up to him." "In reality," adds the author, "is not this an excess of equity? is not this going beyond the bounds of beneficence? O my God! cover with thy mercy this noble soul, this pure soul, which sought in all things the right way."

Noor-ed-deen was the first to establish a court of justice to take cognizance of injuries done to individuals. The occasion of his doing so was as follows. When he had fixed himself at Damascus, his emirs, especially Sheer-koo, who was as it were his partner in the empire, purchased lands and ill-treated the peasantry. Numerous



complaints were made, and the *cadi* Kemal-ed-deen gave redress in some cases, but he feared to interfere with Sheerkoo's people, and contented himself with informing Noor-ed-deen of it, who then resolved to establish a court which might do justice without respect of persons. When Sheerkoo heard of it he knew that it was directed against him, and calling together clerks and officers he told them so, and threatening with crucifixion any of them who should be the cause of his being summoned before it, directed them to find out those who had any complaint against him, and to satisfy them at any price. It was observed that this would be very imprudent, as it would make the claimants very unreasonable. "Do as I desire," said he; "I would rather lose all I have than be summoned like a malefactor before Noor-ed-deen, and have a law-suit with poor wretches." When the court was built, Noor-ed-deen went and took his seat in it in a solemn manner. He sat twice a week, assisted by the *cadi* Kemal-ed-deen and some lawyers. No complaint coming against Sheerkoo, he inquired the cause, and being told it, he shed tears and gave thanks unto God, saying, "Let us praise God for that our people do well of themselves without needing to be forced to it." The author here calls on the reader to admire the justice and power of the prince in erecting this court, which appears to have been designed to take cognizance of appeals from the ordinary judges, and its decision to have been final.

"A thing more astonishing than all the rest is this, that the justice of Noor-ed-deen even went beyond his death. There was in his time at Damascus a man of foreign origin, who, attracted by the mildness of the government, had come to settle in Syria: when, after the death of the prince, Damascus fell under the power of Saladin, seeing himself as well as all the rest of the people exposed to the brutality and oppression of Saladin's soldiers, he went to complain to him, but could get no redress. He then came down from the castle, tearing his clothes, beating his breast, weeping, crying for mercy, and saying, 'Ah, Noor-ed-deen! Noor-ed-deen! if thou couldst see the way we are treated and the evils which afflict us, beyond doubt thou wouldst take pity on us; what then is become of thy justice?' He went through

the city crying in this manner, directing his steps toward the tomb of Noor-ed-deen, and followed by an immense multitude. The fame of it came even to Saladin. 'Save the country, save the people,' it was said, 'or they will rise.' He ordered the man to be brought to him. He was then at Noor-ed-deen's tomb, surrounded by a prodigious crowd of people. He came to Saladin and obtained justice, but he began to weep more violently than ever. Saladin astonished asked him the cause; 'I weep,' replied he, 'I weep for so good a prince who causes justice to be done us even after his death.'—'You are right,' said Saladin; 'all that we have learned of justice, it is from him we have it.' '\*

The valour and military skill of Noor-ed-deen were in high repute and almost proverbial. When he was going into battle, his usage was to take with him two bows and two quivers. He then fought like the meanest of his soldiers, saying, "Alas! it is a long time that I am sighing after martyrdom without being able to obtain it." The imâm Koteb-ed-deen (*Pole-star of Religion*), hearing him one time uttering these words, said to him, "In the name of God, do not put your life in danger; do not expose Islâm and the Moslems. You are their stay, and if (God preserve us from it!) you should be slain, it will be all over with us."—"Ah, Koteb-ed-deen," said he, "what hast thou said? Who can save Islâm and our country, but that great God who has no equal?"

"Noor-ed-deen," says our author, "knew how to have recourse on occasion to stratagem and artifice, especially against the Franks (whom God confound); the greater part of his acquisitions were made in this way." He does not, however, furnish us with any details on this subject.

Noor-ed-deen's treatment of his soldiers was admirable. It was the usual practice among the Turkish princes to grant their soldiers benefices in land for life, but this prince first made them hereditary. Hence his soldiers used to say, "It is our property, it will go to our children. We should defend it at the peril of our lives." He kept a regular register of the names of his soldiers, their arms, horses, etc., so that he could not be deceived by the

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\* The same is told of Jaffier, the celebrated vizier of the khaleefeh Haroon-er-Rasheed.

avarice of his emirs ; for, said he, “ We are every moment on the eve of a campaign : if the emirs neglect keeping up the number of their troops complete, some great calamity may befall Islâm.”

The personal vigour and address of Noor-ed-deen contributed to gain him the admiration of his soldiers. “ A vast number of persons who knew him,” says our author, “ have assured me that they never saw a man ride with so much grace ; it seemed as if he and his horse were one. He was very expert at the game of mall ; when the ball was thrown, and while it was in the air, he advanced with his horse at full speed, and taking the ball in its flight, sent it to the other end of the square ; while he was doing this no one saw his hand, he struck the ball with the bat without putting his hand out of his sleeve—with such ease did he play !”

Noor-ed-deen was a great founder of mosks, colleges, schools, and hospitals. He also built caravanserais along the great roads for the security of travellers. On all the frontiers of his states he erected watch-towers, and the moment any movement of the enemy was perceived from them a pigeon was let fly with the intelligence. “ This was an excellent idea of Noor-ed-deen, and one of the most useful—God be merciful unto him !”

This pious prince also built convents and hermitages for the Soofees, and assigned them considerable revenues. He was fond of conversing with the superiors of these convents, whom he treated with the utmost respect, rising to receive them as soon as he saw them approaching, embracing them, and seating them beside him on the sofa. The fame of his respect for the ministers of religion spread far and wide, and holy men came even from Khorassân to enjoy the favour and witness the piety of the master of Syria. His emirs murmured at the preference that he showed for devout persons, and endeavoured to blacken them in his mind. This caused him much pain. When any one told him of the faults of a Soofee he would say, “ But what man is faultless ? None, but he who has completed his time,” *i. e.* is dead.

His zeal for religion was great, and he was inexorable toward innovators on this subject. He used to say, “ What ! we look to the security of the highways against

robbers and plunderers, though the evil they do is only secondary, and should we not defend religion? Should we not preserve against all attacks that which is the foundation of all?" Hearing that there was at Damascus a man named Joseph-ben-Adam, who shared the error of those *who liken God to the creature* (the anthropomorphites) and by his modest and sober exterior was seeking to gain proselytes to his opinions, he sent for him, and set him on an ass, and had him led through the city followed by the people, who were directed to buffet him, and a herald crying, "This is the reward of those who preach errors in religion." He then banished him for ever from the city.

"His festivals and assemblies were such as those of our prophet Mohammed are said to have been, that is to say, they united politeness of manners with extreme modesty. Women were strictly excluded from them. The conversation was on matters of science, or of religion, or some topics of piety, or of the war to be made against the infidels. But matters changed completely after the death of Noor-ed-deen. I have been told that when Saladin became master of Damascus, the *hâfez*\* Abou-'l-Kassem, being at one of his festivals, heard there language the grossness and indelicacy of which exceeded all bounds. He tried in vain to enter into conversation with Saladin as he used with Noor-ed-deen, he could not make himself be heard. They were all speaking at once, and no one would listen. Abou-'l-Kassem retired in disgust and went home, and when Saladin pressed him to come to his parties he replied, 'In truth I am disgusted with them. When I am at your house I fancy that I am in the house of some low wretch. No one listens to him who speaks to him, no one answers him who addresses him. Alas! these meetings presented a very different appearance in the time of Noor-ed-deen. In *his* presence we were like *a man who has a bird on his head*.† When he spoke we listened in silence, and if we addressed him he gave attention.' Saladin, in consequence of this, directed his emirs to be in future more reserved before Abou-'l-Kassem."

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\* A *hâfez* is one who has the Koran by heart.

† That is, still, and motionless. It is a common phrase with the Arabs.



Such is the character of this illustrious prince, drawn by one who was doubtless a panegyrist, but who quotes facts in proof of his assertions, and whose testimony is confirmed by that of the Christians. The archbishop of Tyre thus expresses himself: "At this time died Noor-ed-deen, the greatest enemy of the Christian name, in other respects a just, prudent, and religious prince according to the principles of his religion." In fact we may contemplate in Noor-ed-deen as good a monarch and even man as Islâm is capable of forming, pious, just, temperate, and humane. To make unceasing war on all who did not hold the tenets of Islâm was with him a sacred duty, and hence his enmity to the Franks should form one of his claims to praise as a pious Moslem, independent of its merit in a political point of view. But to the oriental Christians, whom he regarded as a portion of the natural population of the country, and who had for centuries been the subjects of the khaleefehs, he was always a just and merciful ruler. His virtues have been, as appears to us, thrown too much into the shade by the brilliant qualities of Saladin, who, for reasons which will appear, attracted the chief attention of the Western writers; but we doubt if, when fairly viewed, Noor-ed-deen may not claim the superiority in moral worth over his more renowned successor on the throne of Syria.

#### BALDWIN IV.

**B**ALDWIN IV., the son of Amalric, was crowned immediately on the death of his father; but as he was only thirteen years of age, it was necessary to appoint him a guardian. Count Raymond of Tripolis laid claim to this important trust, and the prelates, barons, and people in general were in his favour; he was opposed by Milo de Plancy, the favourite of the late king, a man very generally disliked for his insolence and arrogance. The party of Raymond however, it is said, employed murderers, who fell on and slew Plancy in the dusk of the evening, in the open street of Ptolemaïs, and thus put an end to opposition. The administration of the state was forthwith committed to the count of Tripolis. The young king made great proficiency in his studies under the chancellor William, afterwards archbishop of Tyre, the able historian of

the Crusades, and he excelled in feats of bodily strength and activity; but an incipient leprosy damped the hopes of his subjects, and that fatal disease increased on him as he advanced in years.

#### PROGRESS OF SALADIN.

NOOR-ED-DEEN had also left his son a minor. Malek-es-saleh (*King of Salvation*) Ismael, as he was named, was received at Damascus as the successor of his father, and the emir Ebn Mokaddem governed in his name. Saladin acknowledged the supremacy of the son of Noor-ed-deen, and the emirs of Egypt loved his name. But many emirs were discontented with Ebn Mokaddem; Seif-ed-deen, the cousin of the young prince, made himself master of the country beyond the Euphrates; the eyes of most Moslems were turned towards the gallant Saladin, and Ebn Mokaddem deemed it his wisest course to invite him to assume the government. The gates of Damascus were opened to him, its example was followed by Hama and Emesa; Aleppo alone, moved by the tears of Malek-es-saleh, refused to admit him who styled himself that prince's vicegerent, and its governor engaged Sinan, the sheikh of the Assassins, to turn the daggers of his followers against the ruler of Egypt. The Dai-el-kebir assented, but the murderers were detected and executed, and Aleppo was formally invested. Count Raymond meantime assembled the troops of the kingdom at Arca, where he was visited by envoys from the garrison of the citadel of Emesa, which still held out for Malek-es-saleh, offering a rich remuneration for aid. The offer was embraced; but when the Moslems learned that an army was on its march from Mosul, they recalled their promises, and the Christians returned to Arca. Saladin now abandoned the siege of Aleppo, and proceeded to secure his acquisitions in Coele-Syria: he soon forced the citadel of Emesa to surrender, and through the constable Humphrey of Thoron, whom he had bribed, he engaged the count of Tripolis to bind himself not to impede him in his contest with the family of Noor-ed-deen. The Christian army shortly afterwards dispersed.

The army of Mosul, led by Az-ed-deen (*Glory of Religion*), the younger brother of Seif-ed-deen, was now on

its march from Aleppo, by whose militia it had been joined, toward Hama. Saladin sent proposals of peace, offering to resign his conquests in Cœle-Syria, and to acknowledge Malek-es-saleh as his superior lord, on condition of being made governor of Damascus. These terms were rejected, the armies encountered near Hama, and a bloody battle ended in favour of Saladin, who immediately afterwards renewed the siege of Aleppo, and Malek-es-saleh was forced to purchase peace by a renunciation of his rights over the conquests of Saladin. The prince of Mosul now appeared in person at the head of a large army, but it shared the fate of that led by his brother. In the camp of Seif-ed-deen were found a great number of jugglers and of female singers, and a variety of curious birds in cages. One of the jugglers was sent with all the birds to Seif-ed-deen, with a counsel never again to expose such beautiful creatures to danger. The ill-fated Malek-es-saleh was once more besieged and forced to sue for peace. Aware of the generosity of the character of Saladin, he sent his sister into that prince's camp; Saladin asked the princess what gifts she required; she, as instructed, replied, the castle of Ezaz; and Saladin restored without hesitation that important fortress to the dominion of Aleppo. He now augmented his importance by espousing the widow of Noor-ed-deen, and praises and presents were sent to him by the khaleefeh of Bagdad. He assumed the title of Sultan, and his name was mentioned in the prayers in the mosks and impressed on the coin of his realm.\*

During the last siege of Aleppo the life of Saladin had been attempted thrice in one day by the Assassins, and he now determined to take vengeance on that murderous society. He therefore entered their territory, wasted it with fire and sword, laid siege to their chief fortress, and only granted them peace at the suit of his uncle, Shahab-ed-deen (*Strength of Religion*). Having thus secured himself against the attempts of this dangerous sect, Saladin returned to Egypt.

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\* These are the tokens of dominion in the East.

## AFFAIRS OF THE KINGDOM.

THE Christians made some plundering incursions into the territory of Damascus, and drove the cattle, but were unable to take any fortified place. The disorder of the king grew worse every year, the count of Tripolis, weary of the opposition which he still met with, became quite negligent of affairs, and the barons saw the necessity of looking out for some valiant prince of the West, to whom they might commit the administration of the kingdom. They fixed their regards on William Longaspata (*Longsword*), son of the Marquis of Monferrat, a young prince of great military skill and valour, and connected with the principal crowned heads of Europe, and they offered him the king's sister Sibylla in marriage, with Joppa and Ascalon as her dower. William accepted the proposal, and in the following year (1176) he arrived at Sidon. His hasty temper, and his indulgence in eating and drinking, alienated from him at first some of the barons, but his candour and openness soon won all hearts, and the highest hopes were entertained of him. These hopes however were blighted by his death in June of the following year (1177), leaving his young widow pregnant.

A few weeks after the death of Longaspata, Philip count of Flanders landed at Ptolemaïs, at the head of a large train of knights. This prince had taken the cross to expiate the guilt of bloodshed and devastation, and his appearance revived the hopes of the Pullani. The fleet and troops of the emperor Manuel also appeared about the same time, and the Greeks were impatient to undertake operations against Egypt. The barons were unanimous in their resolution to commit the government, without any limitation, to the count of Flanders. But the interestedness and the levity of this prince prevented anything from being concluded with him. The Greeks retired, and Philip, after joining with Reginald of Antioch, in an unsuccessful invasion of the territory of Aleppo, returned to Europe with loss of fame.

One last ray of glory gilded the declining realm of Jerusalem. A victory was gained which brings back the memory of the times of the first Baldwins. While the chivalry of Antioch and Tripolis and of the count of



Flanders were besieging Harem and Aleppo, tidings of the approach of Saladin came to Jerusalem. The king and Raymond put themselves at the head of all the knights whom they could assemble, a band of but three hundred and sixty warriors, and advanced to Ascalon. Leaving a small garrison in the town, they set forth to engage the foe; but when they beheld the multitude of the heathens their courage fell, and they returned in the evening to the town. The Moslems now divided and fell to ravaging the country; they burned Ramla and approached Lidda and Jerusalem. When those who were in Ascalon learned that the army of the enemy was separated, they set forth full of resolution, preceded by the holy cross, to chastise them for their ravages. Near Ramla they found the heathens encamped; the king descended from his chariot, fell down before the cross, and fervently prayed to God for victory. At this sight the knights swore to each other never to fly, go things as they might. Before the Moslems could put themselves in battle-array the little band of Christians was on them in close and well-disposed order. After a brave but short resistance the Moslems fled in confusion, the Mamlooks\* of Sultan Saladin, a thousand in number, arrayed like himself in yellow garments over their corslets, fought till their prince had time to make his escape, and but few of themselves escaped the sword or the captivity of the Christians. Night alone ended the slaughter. The cold and rain (for it was the 25th of November) and want of food destroyed numbers of the infidels who were scattered in the wilderness, and many, to escape starvation, gave themselves up to the Christians. Almost all the horses and beasts of burden perished by the severity of the weather, and the roving Arabs, indifferent as Moslem or Christian, plundered the baggage which had been left at El-Arish. It was with great difficulty that the sultan himself effected his escape. "More than once," wrote he to his brother, "was I on the verge of destruction, and God hath only delivered me in order that he may further accomplish his will through me."

The Christians returned with their booty to Jerusalem,

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\* *Mamlook* signifies *white slave*. Saladin's Mamlooks were Turkish children who had been purchased, or the children of the Turkish emirs by their slaves and concubines. They were carefully brought up and trained to arms.

and they employed the leisure which they now enjoyed in repairing the walls of that city, and in building a fort near the Ford of Jacob on the river Jordan, of which, when finished, they committed the charge to the knights of the Temple. While they were thus engaged, the king made an unsuccessful attempt on the herds of the Moslems which grazed in the woods of Paneas ; his life was saved only by the valour of the knights, and Humphrey of Thoron, the constable of the kingdom, received wounds in his defence of which he died a few days afterwards.

#### DEFEAT OF THE CHRISTIANS.

**S**ALADIN now (1178) set out with a numerous army to the defence of Kilij Arslân, the prince of Iconium. As he proceeded he wasted and destroyed the land of the Christians, and he attempted to take the castle at the Ford of Jacob. The king assembled his knights and marched after the infidels, and from the summit of a hill near Paneas they beheld the camp of the enemy and the numerous bands of ravagers who were spread over the extensive plain, burning and destroying. Leaving the wearied infantry behind them, the knights descended into the plain, and having stood a few hours to rest their horses and to take counsel, they advanced against the Moslems. They cut off from the camp and slew several of the plunderers. This partial success filled them with confidence of victory ; the foot-men came down into the plain and scattered about to collect the booty left by the flying heathens, and the count of Tripolis and the Templars separated themselves from the other knights and encamped on a hill by the river. When Saladin perceived this he made a furious charge on the Christians, who had no time to set themselves in array. They fled in confusion ; many valiant knights were slain, many made captives ; among these last was Odo of St. Amand, the godless master of the Templars. The valour of his knights once more saved the diseased young king.

When, after the battle, the master of the Temple was brought before Saladin, the Sultan offered him his liberty in exchange for that of one of his kinsmen, who was a captive to the Christians ; but the haughty Templar replied, " God forbid that I should give an ill example !

others then, expecting to be exchanged, would let themselves more easily be captured. A Templar should give nothing for his ransom beyond his scarf or his sword." He died unlamented in the captivity of the sultan.

A ransom of one hundred thousand byzants was required of Hugh of Tiberias; he replied, that his land and income were too small to allow him to pay it. "But," said Saladin, "you will find no difficulty in raising this money in the space of a year, which I give you, for every man of ability among those of your faith will readily contribute for you."—"My lord," said Hugh in a cheerful tone, "I do not think I could find among those of my own faith a better and more excellent man than yourself. Permit me therefore to ask yourself to contribute first." Saladin, highly gratified by the humour of the knight, gave him fifty thousand byzants, and his emirs imitating his generosity contributed so largely, that ten thousand byzants, over the required sum were collected. Hugh returned home joyfully with this sum, and with eleven Christians to whom the sultan had given their liberty.

The arrival in Acre of Henry count of Troyes with several princes and nobles and a numerous company of knights (1179) excited but to disappoint the hopes of the Christians. They agreed to aid in the relief of the besieged fortress on the Jordan; but while the king delayed, intelligence came that it was already in the hands of Saladin. "The Templars," says an Eastern writer, "flung themselves some into the fire, where they were burned; some cast themselves into the waves of the Jordan, some jumped down from the walls on the rocks and were dashed to pieces, others were slain by the enemy." Without making any attempt on the heathen, the Christian army which had been assembled, ingloriously broke up and separated, for "the Lord their God," says the archbishop of Tyre, "has departed from them."

#### MARRIAGE OF THE KING'S SISTER.

IN the following year (1180) King Baldwin, whose disease had now become very violent, learning that the prince of Antioch and the count of Tripolis were coming to Jerusalem to keep the Easter, with a large train of knights, fancied it was their design to deprive him of the

kingdom ; he hastened therefore to celebrate the marriage of his sister Sibylla with Guy of Lusignan, a son of Hugh Bruno of Poitou, a man of undoubted personal valour and of noble birth, but utterly devoid of the qualities necessary for the government of a state in the present condition of the kingdom. His personal beauty, it is said, had recommended him to Sibylla. The king's choice of him gave universal dissatisfaction, and his elevation was, to Guy himself, the commencement of a series of calamities.\*

A truce with Saladin was absolutely necessary for the kingdom, and fortunately the want of supplies for his troops in Damascus induced the sultan, who now had ended the war in Lesser Asia, to lend a willing ear to the proposals of the king ; and a truce by sea and by land, for strangers as well as native Christians, was agreed on, the first truce, as the historian observes, which was made on equal terms and without any advantages for the Christians. Saladin then turned his arms against the count of Tripolis, ravaged and wasted his territory, and sent fifty ships against the town of Aradus. He however granted a truce to the count of Tripolis also, and he now directed his whole attention to the regulation of his kingdom, and to making preparations for the great object which he had in view.

#### DISCORD AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.

EVERY stay on which the Christians depended seemed to fall away from them and leave them defenceless. They now, to their sorrow, heard of the death of the brave and enterprising emperor Manuel, who had for some time past taken such an interest in their welfare. Yet nothing was to them a warning, and they still persisted in their animosities and their vicious courses. A quarrel between the king and Raymond of Tripolis on account of the former having promised his sister to Humphrey of Thoron, grandson of the constable who was killed at Tiberias, was with difficulty made up. Boemond of An-

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\* The Lusignan of history is a very different person from the Lusignan of Voltaire's tragedy of *Zaïre*. It would perhaps be as well if poets and novelists were to let real characters alone, if they will not represent them as they were.



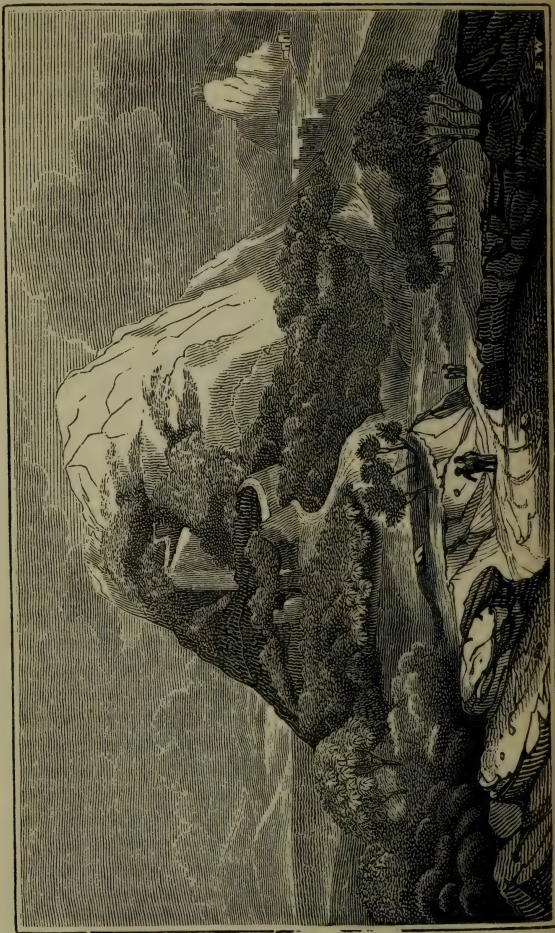
tioch put away without any cause his wife Theodora, the emperor Manuel's niece, and married Sibylla, a woman of ill repute. On the patriarch's remonstrating with him he commenced a bitter persecution of him and the clergy, and the pope laid the land under interdict. When intelligence of these dissensions reached Jerusalem it caused great uneasiness, for it was apprehended that the infidels would take advantage of them, and that, if known in the West, they would increase the evil opinion of the eastern Christians. At the same time it was deemed advisable to proceed with caution, as Boemond was of that character that he would not hesitate to call the Turks to his aid. A deputation, consisting of the patriarch Heraclius, the masters of the Temple and Hospital, and Raynold, Boemond's father-in-law, and others of the principal persons in the realm, was sent to Antioch. They were joined on the way by Raymond of Tripolis, and by their efforts they patched up a reconciliation between the prince and the patriarch. But when they were gone Boemond persisted in his evil courses, and drove his best friends and advisers out of his country because they approved not of his conduct toward the church; and several of the principal knights of Antioch entered the service of Rupin, prince of Armenia (*i. e.* Cilicia), who gladly entertained them.

The king's disorder had now increased so much, that though his mental powers remained unimpaired, he had lost not merely the use of his hands and feet, but even his sight. Under these circumstances Guy of Lusignan succeeded in obtaining from him the cities of Ascalon and Joppa, and the rank of viceroy. Guy thus by taking on him a burden beyond his strength prepared his own ruin and that of the kingdom.

#### BREACH OF THE TRUCE.

NECESSARY as the truce had been for the Christians, they were the first to break it. This was done by Raynald, to whom the charge of the country beyond the Jordan was committed; he made an incursion into Arabia and ravaged it, but the governor of Damascus forced him to retire, and when Saladin heard of this breach of truce he laid in irons and stripped of their property fif-





Mount Tabor.

teen hundred pilgrims whose ship had been stranded at Damietta, and he led an army into the country beyond the Jordan and laid it waste. In the council of war held at Jerusalem, the prudent advice of Raymond of Tripolis was to leave the trans-Jordane land to its fate, and to provide for the defence of the country on this side; but the impetuous Raynald was for marching through the valley of the Dead Sea\* and getting between Saladin and Damascus. This opinion was adopted, but, as Raymond had told them, to no purpose; for the sultan, by taking a short round, reached his destination. The Christians then returned and posted themselves in Galilee, at the well of Sephoría, to be at hand to oppose Saladin. But while they were there, the emirs of Damascus, Hama, Baalbek, and Bostrum crossed the Jordan below the lake, ravaged the whole country, took the town of Buria, near Mount Tabor, led away five hundred captives from it, recrossed the river, and made themselves masters, through the cowardice of the garrison, of a strong cavern in Trachonitis. This cave was in a steep limestone rock; it had three chambers over each other, was accessible only by a very narrow path, and the possession of it had enabled the Christians to secure to themselves half the wine, oil, and corn of the surrounding country.

Saladin now came and encamped near Tiberias and wasted the land; the Christian cavalry advanced to engage him. The sultan meantime crossed the river and invested Beisan or Scythopolis, which lies in a well-watered plain between Mount Gilboa and the Jordan, but meeting a braver resistance than he had anticipated he retired and advanced to meet the Christians, who were now at Belveir, a fortress between Beisan and Tiberias. When morning broke, the Christians who were encamped on the hills beheld on the plain the Moslem host of twenty thousand horsemen; themselves reckoned but seven hundred helms. Some lost courage and disgracefully fled; the rest, relying on the aid of God and the Holy Cross, which was borne by Baldwin, the treasurer of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, boldly charged the heathen. It was July, the heat was intolerable, and

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\* This is what is called the Ghôr or Valley of the Jordan, between the Dead Sea and Lake Tiberias.



more of the combatants died by it than by the sword; victory at length declared for the warriors of the Cross, Saladin repassed the Jordan, the conquerors returned to Sephoría, deriving only fame from their victory. Saladin conveyed his booty to Damascus, and shortly afterwards invested Berytus by sea and land, while his brother Malek-el-Adel (*Just King*) wasted with fire and sword the south of the kingdom.

The people of Berytus defended themselves gallantly, and as Saladin had no military machines his troops were preparing to attempt to scale the walls, when the sultan was himself wounded in the eye by an arrow, as he stood on a hill to direct the operations. This accident prevented the attack; and as he learned that aid was approaching by sea and by land he retired, burning the villages and destroying the vineyards and gardens.

The thoughts of Saladin now returned to the acquisition of what remained of the dominions of Noor-ed-deen. The amiable young prince Malek-es-Saleh was dead, and none of the family of Noor-ed-deen was worthy to succeed him, all of them being weak and effeminate. Ez-ed-deen of Mosul, to whom the dying prince had left his heritage, gave Aleppo to his brother Emad-ed-deen, in exchange for Sanjar. Saladin, after an attempt on Aleppo, crossed the Euphrates; all the places which had belonged to the county of Edessa submitted to him, Sanjar was taken by storm, but the attack on Mosul failed. He returned to Syria, and again invested Aleppo, which Emad-ed-deen surrendered to him on receiving Sanjar and other towns beyond the river to hold as a tributary dominion. The Christian states were now entirely surrounded by those of sultan Saladin; each year the toils were pitched closer.

The Christians were nettled at the contempt of them shown by the sultan in his going away beyond the Euphrates without having sought a truce with them, and they now invaded and ravaged the land of Damascus. But the harvest had been already gathered and secured, the people had taken refuge with their cattle and property in the mountains, and little booty was to be gained. As they were returning they resolved to attempt the recovery of the cavern, which had been taken from them some months before. A part of them stayed on the

plain to bar the egress of those within; the remainder got on the top of the rock, taking with them some able stone-cutters to cut through the lime-stone, which was veined by stone of another species. Day and night these men wrought, and at the end of three weeks those in the upper chamber could hear the strokes of the hammer over them, and feel the shaking of the rock, and they immediately surrendered on condition of a safe-conduct to Bos-trum.

A bold but unsuccessful attempt was made about this time by Prince Raynald. He suddenly fell on and took Ailah, on the Red Sea; and while he himself stayed to besiege the castle, he put a part of his men in the ships which he found there, and they sailed along the Egyptian coast and plundered the town of Aidab. Malek-el-Adel, the governor of Egypt, immediately had ships conveyed on the backs of camels from Alexandria to the Red Sea, Raynald was put to flight, and the Egyptian fleet pursued the Christians, who had landed on the Arabian coast with the intention of destroying the holy towns of Mecca and Medina. After a hard conflict, the Christians were all slain or captured; a part of the prisoners were sent to Egypt, the remainder were led to the sacred valley of Mena, in which the pilgrims to Mecca are used to slay beasts in sacrifice, and were there put to death as victims to the glory of the Prophet.

The failure of these attempts on the dominions of Saladin awoke the Christians to a lively sense of their present feebleness. A fully attended diet was held at Jerusalem, and a general property-tax was imposed for the defence of the realm. Soon afterwards the chivalry of Jerusalem, Tripolis, and Antioch rendezvoused at the well of Sephoría, and here the king, finding the state of his health to be such as utterly to incapacitate him for business or action, resigned the government to Guy de Lusignan, reserving to himself the royal title, the city of Jerusalem, and an annual revenue of ten thousand by-zants. This arrangement met with general disapprobation.

Saladin now crossed the Jordan, entered and plundered Beisan, which had been deserted by the inhabitants, ravaged the country, and fixed his camp by the well of Tutania, at the foot of Gilboa, on the road from Beisan

to Neapolis. The Christians, who had been reinforced by the arrival of the duke of Brabant and many other valiant pilgrims, and by the crews of a number of Italian ships, and who now counted thirteen hundred knights and fifteen thousand foot-men, advanced and posted themselves in the vale of Esdraelon. But the animosity of the princes against Lusignan paralyzed all their efforts; it was in vain that Saladin left his advantageous position and offered them battle, in vain he sought to provoke them by wasting the country before their eyes, they remained immovable, though they began to suffer from want of supplies. Saladin at length led away his warriors, the Christians returned to their usual post at Sephória, where the pilgrims left them, and the Syrian knights then retired to their towns and castles.

#### SIEGE OF KERAC.

**R**AYNALD DE CHATILLON thought this a good occasion for celebrating the wedding of his step-son with Elizabeth, the sister of the king, who was now eleven years old. Jugglers, musicians, and singing women crowded in great numbers to his castle of Kerac, joyous banquets and every kind of merriment filled its halls, when suddenly the festivity of the guests was disturbed by intelligence of the approach of Saladin, and soon his squadrons were seen to approach and surround the castle. The sultan had been joined by Malek-el-Adel and the troops of Egypt, for the acquisition of Kerac was a matter of paramount importance to him. Raynald was advised to abandon the village, which was on the side of the hill, under the castle, but relying on the strength of its situation he refused to comply. Its defenders however were unable to resist the Saracens, and it and all that it contained became their prize. The castle was assailed by eight machines, whose discharges made the very rock to shake, while their ceaseless showers of stones and darts rendered it dangerous for the defenders even to look out through the gratings in the walls. As however the castle was well supplied with provisions, it was resolved to hold out if possible till aid should come from Jerusalem.

## BALDWIN'S DISPUTE WITH GUY DE LUSIGNAN.

THE complaints made against Guy of Lusignan, on whom the blame was most unjustly laid of the disgrace sustained by the Christian arms in the valley of Esdraelon, joined with the resentment of the king against him for his refusal to exchange with him Tyre for Jerusalem, induced that prince to resume the government, and he associated with him his nephew Baldwin, son of William Longspata, a child of five years, who was anointed and crowned in the church of the Resurrection; and to give the people a view of their young monarch, Balian of Ibelim, a large handsome man, carried him in his arms from the church to the palace. The barons were naturally displeased with this settlement of the state, which gave them two incapable heads instead of one, and in a council held on the march to the relief of Kerac they obliged the king to name Raymond of Tripolis commander of the army.

Saladin retired on the approach of the Christian army, and the king now turned all his thoughts to vengeance on Guy of Lusignan. He required the patriarch to pronounce a divorce between him and his wife Sibylla. The count of Joppa saw that he must stand on his defence, or be ruined. He therefore hastened to Ascalon, on the fidelity of whose citizens he could rely. Under pretext of sickness, he declined compliance with the royal summons to the inquiry into his marriage, and the king, accompanied by several barons, went to summon him with his own voice; but he found the gates closed, and though he knocked at them several times with his own hand they were not opened. Joppa admitted him gladly. In the council held at Ptolemaïs soon after, about sending an embassy to the West, the patriarch, and the masters of the Temple and the Hospital, vainly sought to soften the indignation of the king against the count of Joppa, and Guy, seeing no hopes of favour, began to commit ravages on the royal territories. At this council the regency of the kingdom was committed to the able hands of the count of Tripolis for the minority of the young king, and in case of the death of that prince before he came of age the disposal of the throne was to be



committed to the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and England.

#### DEATH OF THE KINGS—DISPUTED SUCCESSION.

VERY shortly afterwards Baldwin IV. died (March 16th), 1185), and was buried with his fathers on Mount Calvary. Count Raymond, who had made a truce with Saladin, was enjoying the satisfaction resulting from the good wishes and gratitude of the people, who were now plentifully supplied with food from the land of the Saracens, when (1186) the death of the young king occurred to disconcert all his plans. The countess of Joppa, summoned by the enemies of Raymond, hastened immediately to Jerusalem, and claimed the crown as heiress to the late kings. The keys of the treasury were in the custody of the patriarch and the masters of the two military orders; and the patriarch and the master of the Temple were both favourable to the claims of the countess; but the master of the Hospital declared for maintaining the arrangement made between Baldwin IV. and the count of Tripolis. Sibylla sent for Raynald of Chatillon to advise and assist her, and by his counsel messengers were sent to Neapolis, to invite Raymond and the barons who were there assembled to come and assist at the coronation of the countess. The barons on their part sent two Cistercian abbots to Jerusalem, to call upon the patriarch and the masters of the orders, in the name of God and the pope, to abstain from crowning Sibylla.

The party of the countess, on the receipt of this message, closed the gates of the city for fear of an attack, and led by Raynald and the master of the Temple, she proceeded to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, where the patriarch awaited her. That prelate demanded his key from the master of the Temple, who delivered it to him. A messenger was then sent to the master of the Hospital for the key which he had, and on his refusal to give it the patriarch and the master of the Temple went to the Hospital, and having, after a good deal of searching, found the master, who had concealed himself, they pressed him so with entreaties and arguments, that he at length took out the key and flung it down on the ground. They picked it up, and returning to the church opened the

treasury, and took out the crowns. The patriarch laid one of them on the altar, and placed the other on the head of the countess; then taking the other he gave it to her, saying, "You are a woman, and require a man to govern the kingdom. Take this crown, and place it on the head of whom you will." Sibylla called to her husband Guy, and crying, "What God has joined, let no man separate; be thou, Guy, my husband and my king; I know none more worthy of my hand and of the kingdom;" he knelt down, and she placed the crown on his head.

When the intelligence reached Neapolis, Guy's own brother Godfrey exclaimed, "Well, if *he* is our king, he will one time or other be our Lord God!"\* Baldwin of Ramla said, "Guy is a fool, and a buffoon; he will lose the kingdom as he has got it, to our common disgrace, and we shall all perish by his folly if we do not make haste to quit Palestine."

They immediately resolved to give the royal dignity to Humphrey of Thoron, who was married to the sister of Sibylla. But this young man, who was of a timid temper, fearing the toil of ruling such a state as Jerusalem now was, fled in the night to the holy city, and proffered his homage to Guy. The other barons, as they considered that there was now no competitor, soon followed his example, and Raymond alone remained opposed to Guy. The king, by the advice of the master of the Temple, Raymond's personal enemy, assembled his vassals, and proceeded to besiege the count of Tripolis in Tiberias. Raymond, on his part, hesitated not to call on Saladin for aid against his Christian brethren, and the sultan sent him a body of Turkish horse, who were readily admitted into Tiberias, and came himself and encamped within five miles of that town. Fruitless efforts were made to reconcile the king and the count, as the former refused to give up Berytus, which was claimed by the latter. Saladin now offered to extend the truce, which he had made for a few months with the count when regent, for three

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\* Another account says that his brother Geoffrey, on hearing of his election, exclaimed, "Those who made *him* a king would have made *me* a God if they had known me."

years; and the king, with the advice of the Templars, readily assented to it.

#### ILL STATE OF THE CHRISTIANS.

EVERY cessation of war, every moment of repose, was of inestimable value to the hard-set Latin Christians of the East; yet while the Moslems adhered faithfully to their treaties, they were themselves the first to break them. Raynald of Chatillon, who had come to the kingdom for its curse, was now as before the confounder of oaths and compacts. He fell upon and plundered the retinue of Saladin's mother, and then the caravans from Damascus to Mecca, which were journeying through his land on the faith of the truce, and laid all the travellers in irons; and when Saladin demanded their liberty, and restitution of their property, he met a refusal. The sultan then solemnly swore that he would with his own hand put Raynald to death if ever he got him in his power.

The discord and the moral corruption, precursive of the fall of states, were now at a great height in the sinking kingdom of Jerusalem, and there was no longer that energy in the king and princes, that confident reliance on the favour of Heaven in the people, which had hitherto obviated their ill effects. The patriarch Heraclius was a man of notorious ill-life, who lived publicly with a woman who had been the wife of a grocer; his election had been opposed by several, especially by William the archbishop of Tyre, who, using a mode of inquiry suited to those times, asserted that he had read in old books, that as one patriarch Heraclius had found the holy cross in Persia, so it would be lost by another of that name. But the influence of Sybilla with her brother Baldwin IV. had carried it in favour of Heraclius. The orders of the Temple and the Hospital were now become extremely corrupt, and their lives gave countenance to the charges, probably false, which were made against them. The Templars in particular were accused of the chief guilt in the treachery against the crusaders at Damascus, and of the ill success of the king Amalric in Egypt, and of having sold the crown to Guy of Lusignan. Among the transitions to the heathens, which were now frequent, was that of a Templar, Robert of St. Albans, in England, to whom Sala-

din gave one of his female relatives in marriage; and the renegade, a little before the truce with Count Raymond, had, at the head of a Moslem army, ravaged the land from Montroyal to Jericho, and Neapolis. He had engaged to the sultan to take the holy city; but the Christian chivalry had put him and his troops to flight.

#### DEFEAT OF THE CHRISTIANS.

**SALADIN**, who was now (1187) at peace with all his Moslem neighbours, resolved to take full vengeance on the Christians for their breach of faith. He assembled all his forces, and while he himself encamped before Kerac, to protect the pilgrims of Mecca from Raynald, his son Malek-el-afdal (*Most excellent king*) prepared to ravage the lands of Acre. As it was necessary to pass through the territory of Tiberias to arrive there, the young prince applied to Raymond, with whom his father was in amity, for a free passage. Raymond was greatly perplexed how to act; he feared to incur the odium of his fellow-Christians if he aided the Moslems, and he was anxious not to break with the sultan. He, however, hit on the following expedient; he granted the passage to Malek-el-afdal, provided that he returned before sunset of the day on which he should cross the Jordan, and that he broke into no town, village, or house, but only carried off what he should find on the land; and he sent to warn the Christians to keep at home, and secure their cattle and property on the day the Moslems were to pass. He also sent to desire the ambassadors who were coming to reconcile him with the king, to halt that day.

But the master of the Temple, who was one of the ambassadors, spurned the counsel of his ancient enemy, and on the following day he assembled in arms all the brethren of his order who were near, and inducing the master of the Hospital and his knights to join, and having drawn together in all a hundred and forty knights and five hundred foot-men, he set out in quest of the heathen, whom they encountered at the brook Kishon, when, faithful to their promise, they were returning to the Jordan in the evening. As soon as the Christian knights beheld the enemy, they made an impetuous charge on them. The Turks, as usual, gave way. Confident of victory the



knights pursued, leaving their infantry unprotected; a body of Turks rushed from a neighbouring valley, and got between the knights and the foot-men, who were speedily destroyed by their swords, spears, and iron clubs. The infidels then surrounded the knights, who could not employ their arms in the narrow space which they occupied. The master of the Temple and three of his knights alone escaped; the master of the Hospital was made a captive. The Turks then retired, bearing the heads of the slaughtered knights on their spears, and dragging with them their prisoners. The inhabitants of Nazareth collected the corpses of the Christian warriors, and brought them to their city, and interred them in consecrated earth.

Balian of Ibelim, who had not journeyed with the other ambassadors, on coming to Faba in the plain of Esdraelon, saw the tents of the Templars pitched, and to his no small surprise found them empty. No one was in view to give him any information, and the servant whom he sent to the castle found there only two sick persons, and these knew nothing of what had happened. He was gone some distance on his way to Nazareth when he met a Templar, who informed him of the calamity of his order. Balian sent off immediately to his wife Maria, the widow of Baldwin IV., who was at Neapolis, directing her to despatch all the knights who were there to join him at Nazareth. When he had found in that town the archbishop of Tyre and the master of the Templars, he and the prelate proceeded to Tiberias to endeavour to recall Raymond to his duty. Raymond readily consented to a reconciliation; he dismissed the Turks, and hastened to the king, who also, when he heard of the count's approach, advanced to meet him. When he came within view of the count he alighted and went on foot; the count did the same; he fell on his knees before his sovereign in the presence of all the prelates and barons, the king raised and embraced him, and they proceeded together to Neapolis, to consult about the means of defending the realm. Raymond advised that all the troops that could be collected should be assembled at the well of Sephoria, and the master of the Temple offered to give the king, for the pay of knights and soldiers, the money which had been sent to Jerusalem

and committed to his charge, by Henry II. ' of England, in expiation of the murder of Thomas à Becket.

#### BATTLE OF HITIN.\*

ALL the princes, barons, and knights of the kingdom assembled at the appointed time at the well of Sephoría; the towns were left without garrison, as every man able to bear arms was summoned to the field; and the army, one of the most numerous and best appointed which had ever fought in defence of the Holy Land, counted twelve hundred knights, a considerable number of Turcoples or light horse, and twenty thousand foot. The holy cross was confided, by the cowardly and sensual patriarch, to the joint care of the bishops of Ptolemaïs and Lidda. This caused uneasiness to the minds of some of the warriors, and their fears were augmented by the prodigy, it was said, of the breaking of a stone image of the child Jesus, and the flowing of blood from the pieces. Saladin, on his side, summoned all the Moslems to his standard, and on Friday, his favourite day of action, as then he had with him the prayers of the faithful, he encamped at Gaulan, by the northern end of the Lake Tiberias, and sent a corps over the Jordan, who wasted and burned the country as far as Nazareth and Jezreel. The entire Moslem host followed, and encamped on a hill to the north of Tiberias. His light horse attacked that town, and the countess of Tripolis and her children were obliged to take refuge in the citadel, whence she sent to the camp at Sephoría for aid.

In the council held on this occasion, Count Raymond, notwithstanding the danger of his family, earnestly advised remaining in their present advantageous position, where they had an abundance of water, and of all other necessities. He knew from experience that delay was the most effectual mode of combating Saladin; he represented the unfavourable nature of the ground between Sephoría and Tiberias, and the ease with which the Turks could annoy them, and oblige them to take a position where they would be in want of everything. The master of the Temple interrupted him by saying with a sneer, in

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\* Called by the Latins the battle of Tiberias.

allusion to the fable, "There is still some of the wolf's hair remaining." Raymond offered to wager his head that, if they acted contrary to his advice, they would find what he said to be but too true. The king, and all but the master of the Temple, at length yielded to the prudent advice of the count of Tripolis, and the council broke up at midnight.

But the master of the Temple sought the presence of the king ere he retired to repose, and reproaching him for yielding to the traitorous council of Raymond of Tripolis, called on him to lead himself and his brethren to the field, for the Templars would sooner lay aside the mantle of their order than endure the disgrace of suffering a Christian town to be taken almost within sight of such a gallant army. The weak and irresolute king in an evil hour yielded to his representations; the trumpets were ordered to sound, and the heralds to summon the warriors to arms; and when the barons came to the tent of the king, in order to remonstrate with him, they found him already putting on his armour, and with dismal anticipations they followed his example. The count of Tripolis, as they were in his territory, led the first division; the troops of the king and the holy cross were in the centre; the Templars, and Balian of Ibelim, with his knights, formed the rear; the other divisions marched on the flanks.

Saladin rejoiced to hear that the Christian army was in motion, and he hastened to meet them. When they had gotten half-way to Tiberias they found the truth of count Raymond's words; they were tortured by thirst, and by the heat of the sultry day (July 4), and the incessant charges of the Turkish cavalry gave them no cessation from toil. In the council which they held, some were for attacking the enemy at once, before their strength was exhausted by hunger and thirst; others for trying to gain the shore of the lake, which was not more than a mile distant. Meanwhile the night came on; it was resolved to encamp where they were, and to defer the fight till the coming day. They spread their tents on the summit of a rocky hill, where during the night they were encompassed by the enemy, who set fire to all the plants and shrubs around them, and the heat and smoke greatly contributed to augment their sufferings.

The light of the next day revealed to them the horrors of their situation; they were on a hill environed by rocks, and the Turkish squadrons were on all sides. The word was given to set forward. The infidels retiring as they advanced, would give them no opportunity for fighting; they annoyed them by their sudden charges, and by setting fire to the shrubs and herbage on all sides. By the third hour the Christians reached the hill of Hittin, whence they could discern lake Gennesareth; and the view of its shores, and its placid surface, the scenes of so many of their Saviour's miracles, served but to augment their despondency, as they now deemed themselves abandoned of Heaven. The Turks began to press on them more closely; the Templars, Hospitallers, and Turcopoles fought valiantly, as long as their strength endured; they then sent to the king for aid. But the exhausted infantry retired to the summit of the hill, and refused to fight; a part of them flung away their arms, and surrendered to the heathens. The king, therefore, ordered the knights to encamp where they were, and they pitched, without any order, around the holy cross. The Turks still showered arrows on them: the bishop of Ptolemaïs was killed by one, and dying he delivered the sacred wood to his brother-bishop. The king gave orders to renew the fight; the count of Tripolis, at his command, prepared to fall on the foe, but his knights crying "Save himself who can, the battle is at an end, and even flight is impossible," rushed down the rocks against the troops of Faki-ed-deen (*Teacher of Religion*), prince of Hama, who opened to let them pass, and then again closed their ranks. Raymond, Balian of Ibelim, Rainald of Sidon, and the son of the prince of Antioch, thus escaped to Tyre; the Moslems rushed on the infantry, precipitated them down the side of the hill, slew some, and made prisoners of others. The king, Raynald of Chatillon, the master of the Temple, and all the remaining knights preferred captivity to immediate death. The holy cross became the prey of the Moslems.

Saladin received his captives in the ante-chamber of his tent, which was not yet entirely set up, and all but Raynald of Chatillon experienced courtesy. He desired the king to be seated, and gave him, as he was fatigued, a cooling drink. When Guy, after having drunk, reached



the cup to Raynald, the sultan desired the interpreter to say to him, "It is *thou*, and not *I*, who givest him this drink; I will have nought to do with the wretch;" for, according to the custom of the East, whoever gives his prisoner meat or drink, loses all right to injure him. All the rest were led away and given refreshments; they were then brought back to the sultan's tent, and Saladin addressing himself to Raynald reminded him of all the injuries he had done the Moslems, and his abuse of their prophet. He then gave him the option of instant death, or conversion to Islâm. Raynald boldly declared that he would live and die in the faith of Christ; the sultan drew his sabre, and gave him with it a deep cut on the shoulder, and the Turks who were present instantly despatched him. The king and his knights were assured of safety; but the Templars and Hospitallers, as being the sworn foes of Islâm, were beheaded on refusing to abjure their faith. Saladin gave orders to all who had any of these knights in their hands, to put them to death in like manner; then fearing that his soldiers might not be zealous and disinterested enough to part with the hopes of ransom, he offered fifty pieces of gold for every Templar or Hospitaller that should be brought to him: two hundred knights were led before him, and instantly decapitated, for few were base enough to deny their faith.

An Oriental historian who was present says, that Saladin sat with a smiling countenance viewing these executions, while the air of the victims was melancholy and dejected. The army was drawn up in battle-array, and the emirs stood in two ranks. Some of the executioners cut off the heads with a degree of dexterity which called for applause; several refused to act, others got those who were by them to act for them. It is thus that the feelings of nature will always show themselves.

Thanksgivings were ordered to be put up at Damascus, and the sultan wrote on that occasion as follows: "Not our might but their own sins have prepared the overthrow of the Christians. The cross is fallen into our hands, round which they fluttered like the moth round the light, under whose shadow their hearts assembled, in which they boldly trusted as in a wall,—the cross, the centre and leader of their pride, their superstition, and their tyranny."

## CONQUESTS OF SALADIN.

THE citadel of Tiberias surrendered the next day, and Saladin sent the countess and her sons with rich gifts to Tripolis. He encamped at the well of Sephoría, and the following day appeared before the walls of Ptolemaïs, which opened its gates to him. The country, from Mount Carmel to Joppa, was covered with the Turkish horsemen; their ravages extended to Samaria and Jericho, and they nowhere encountered resistance. Malek-el-adel led the troops of Egypt into the south. Joppa, and all the towns but Ascalon and Gazaris, a fortress of the Templars, submitted; the people all fled to Jerusalem, and the numerous carcasses of the slain infected the air. The sultan led his squadrons into the territory of Tripolis, whose count Raymond had suddenly died; like locusts they spread over and wasted the entire country, and soon Tyre and Tripolis alone remained to the Christians. In August the whole army of the infidels encamped before Ascalon; the few knights who were there defended it bravely, and Saladin, fearing a protracted siege, brought king Guy from Damascus, whither he had sent him with the other prisoners, and offered him his own liberty, and that of his brother the bishop of Lidda, if he effected the surrender of Ascalon. The king called some of his knights out of the town, and told them if they thought the town able to hold out, not to surrender it for the sake of one man; but if they did not, it would be better to give it up at once, while by so doing they might free himself and his brother. The city accordingly surrendered, Saladin agreeing to release twelve more of his prisoners of rank, to be selected by the king, to allow forty days for the inhabitants to dispose of their immovable property, to give a safe conduct to them with their movable goods as far as Tripolis, and permission for a hundred families to continue to reside in Ascalon. The liberation of the king was to be deferred till the following March, as Saladin feared that his presence in Jerusalem would impede him in his designs on that city.

All the remaining towns and castles now surrendered; among the rest Kerac, after having endured a blockade of two years. The sultan, to testify his admiration of the

valour of its defenders, made them rich presents, gave them a safe conduct, and purchased and restored the wives and children of such as had been obliged to sell them for food during the blockade.

The number of slaves, we may observe, made in the capture of such towns as resisted was considerable, for, when a place was taken by storm, such of the women and children as had not fallen the victims of the fury of the conquerors, were reduced to slavery. The historian Ibn-al-Athir relates as follows:—"I had at Aleppo a slave, who was a Christian woman, taken at Jaffa, who had a child a year old. This child having fallen one day and cut its face, the mother began to weep most bitterly; and when I tried to pacify her by saying that the injury her child had sustained did not signify, she replied, 'It is not on account of this child I weep, but for the calamities which we have experienced. I had six brothers, all of whom have perished; I had a husband, and two sisters, and I know not what is become of them.' This is the case of one person only; but several others had experienced the same misfortune. I saw another day at Aleppo a Christian slave, accompanying her master to the house of a neighbour; another woman appears suddenly at the door, the first gives a loud cry, they embrace one another affectionately, then sit down, and begin to talk. They were two sisters, who had been reduced to slavery, and brought, without knowing it, to the same town."

It may excite surprise to see the whole country thus reduced in a few months; but that surprise will cease when we consider the state of the population. The Latins were always few in comparison with the rest of the inhabitants, the great bulk of whom were Moslems; and the Oriental Christians hated the sway of their Latin brethren much more than that of the infidels. When, therefore, the flower of the Latins fell at Hittin, none remained to oppose the triumphant Saladin, and, as we have seen, town after town opened its gates.

#### SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

**S**ALADIN was anxious, if possible, to obtain possession of the Holy City without injuring it. He offered most

favourable terms on condition of a surrender, if it was not effectually relieved against the Pentecost of the following year; and when these terms were refused, he is said to have sworn that he never would take it otherwise than by force. Balian of Ibelim, who had become his prisoner at Berytus, and to whom he had given his liberty, now commanded at Jerusalem. He had sworn never to bear arms against the sultan, and had been permitted, when he gave up his castle of Ibelim, to conduct his family to Jerusalem, under condition of his not stopping there more than one night; but the citizens pressed him to stay and take the command, and the patriarch assuring him that it was his duty to protect his fellow-Christians in preference to keeping his oath to a heathen, and offering to absolve him from it, Balian consented to remain. He sent to inform Saladin of the necessity he was under of being false to his engagement, and to beg of him a safe conduct for his wife and children to Tripolis; the generous sultan was satisfied with his excuses, and granted the protection required.

Moslems of all ages, even the women and children, poured into the camp of Saladin, desirous to enter the Holy City in his train. The hills between it and Ascalon, which so often had resounded to the hymns of triumph of the warriors of the Cross returning from victorious conflict with the heathen, were now covered by the numerous troops of Turks and Saracens, who advanced with confidence to the assault of Jerusalem, and on the 20th of September the host of Saladin encamped on the west of the city, from the tower of David to the gate of St. Stephen. The city was filled with women and children, who had fled to it for refuge; only two of its knights were remaining since the battle of Hittin, and the sultan reckoned that a surrender might be effected by negotiation. But he was deceived in his expectation; the inhabitants would listen to no terms; the priests and monks put on armour, and fought with the knights and archers. The old men, women, and children passed the day in prayer and processions; continued sallies gave the besiegers no rest. On the eighth day of the siege Saladin removed his forces to the north side of the city, where the first crusaders had assailed it. The walls were battered by machines



and thrown down by mines; the Turkish troops boldly advanced to the storm; the courage of the Christians gave way, and neither duty nor money could induce any to attempt the defence of the breach during the night. Next day those of more generous mind required Balian to lead them out against the foe, that they might die in defence of the city which they could not save, but the majority urged the queen, the patriarch, and Balian to negotiate with Saladin for a surrender. Balian, therefore, repaired to the sultan, offering to give up the city on condition of the inhabitants being allowed to retire with their movable property. To this the sultan returned no immediate answer, and Balian was put off till the following day. Meantime the machines were employed throughout the night against the town, and a large portion of one of the towers was thrown down. In the morning a solemn procession of the clergy went round the walls, praying to God and the Virgin for deliverance; and the women of rank, as a mark of humility, cut off and cast away their long hair, and set their daughters naked up to the necks in tubs of cold water on Mount Calvary. But all availed not to save, for "Our Lord Jesus Christ," says the historian, "would not listen to any prayer that they made; for the filth, the luxury, and the adultery, which were in the city, did not suffer prayer or supplication to ascend before God."

Saladin, when he admitted Balian, would at first hear of nothing but unconditional surrender. At length, moved by his entreaties, and by his representations that the Christians, if driven to despair, would massacre their Moslem prisoners, their own wives and children, and destroy the city, the sultan, having been assured by the ministers of his religion, that under such circumstances his oath was not binding, said, "For the love of God, and to gratify you, sir knight, they may keep their property, but their persons must be mine; these, however, they may ransom." He then fixed the ransom at twenty byzants for each man, and ten for each woman and child. Balian remonstrated, and Saladin, saying he would consider the matter, dismissed him for that day. On his return to the town, the patriarch and people seeing no remedy gave him full powers to treat; and the Hospitallers

agreed to employ for the ransom of the people the treasure of the king of England which was in their hands. When Balian went out to the camp next day, he found the sultan all mildness, and only anxious for the ransom, that he might not disappoint his emirs and soldiers, who had reckoned on a rich booty ; and the ransom was fixed at ten byzants for each man, five for each woman, and one for each child. Seven thousand of the poor were to be freed for thirty thousand byzants, and forty days were given for the sale of property and departure from the town.

On the 2nd of October these terms were proclaimed by the heralds in the streets of Jerusalem, amidst the loud cries of the poorer sort against the patriarch and the knights, whom they compared to Judas Iscariot. On the same day the sultan made his solemn entry in great pomp ; his banner was planted on the walls, and all the gates were closed except that of Joppa, through which the Moslems entered who came to purchase their property from the Christians. The churches were all, except that of the Resurrection, converted into mosques ; four camels' loads of rose-water were brought from Damascus to purify the Temple. The bells were broken up, the crosses were all pulled from off the churches with ropes, and dragged through the mire, to the horror of the Christians, whom the numbers of the Moslems alone prevented from taking arms to avenge the insult.

Thus far sultan Saladin betrayed the intolerance of the zealous Moslem, but the nobleness and generosity of his subsequent conduct to the vanquished, are ascertained by the unanimous testimony of the Christian writers. He protected them from every injury and insult of his soldiery, and alleviated by every means in his power the difficulty of their paying their ransom. His emirs imitated his generosity ; Malek-el-adel begged from the sultan a thousand Christian prisoners, and immediately set them at liberty ; the emirs of Edessa and Beer claimed the Syrian Christians as born on their territories, and treated them with equal beneficence. At the suit of the patriarch Saladin gave liberty to seven hundred of the poor, and to an equal number at that of Balian ; and then, " Since," said he, " my brother Malek-el-adel and the patriarch and

Balian have exercised mercy, I will do the same ;” and he commanded that on the following day the gate of St. Lazarus should remain open from sunrise till sunset, and that all the poor Christians who presented themselves at it should be allowed to go free, if on being searched they were found to have no property about them. Eleven thousand still remained, and the sultan desired the patriarch and Balian, who had offered themselves as hostages for their ransom, not to teaze him any further. To the wives and daughters of those who had fallen or been captured at Hittin, he showed the greatest kindness ; he granted to their prayers and tears the liberty of their fathers and husbands, and he gave rich presents to those who had been made widows and orphans. The care of the noble Saladin extended to the Christians even after they had left the city. Turkish escorts accompanied them to protect them, and these warriors imitated the humanity of their prince ; when they saw any of the Christians weary and faint with their journey, they made their servants dismount and put them on their horses, and they frequently took the children up before them on their own war-steeds. The Moslem inhabitants of the country generously supplied the Christians with provisions on the road.

When they entered the Christian territory, they experienced a sad change, no mildness or compassion was there shown for their afflictions. They were refused admittance into the towns, and robbed of the property which the noble sultan had left them. A part were forced to proceed to Antioch ; the remainder, after enduring the extreme of distress, were suffered to enter the towns. Queen Sibylla, as she was preparing to sail for Europe, was deprived of her ship by the Tyrians, and forced to go to Antioch with the patriarch and the knights of the two orders.

Those who had gone from Ascalon to Alexandria were protected by the governor of that city, and suffered to remain there during the winter ; but the Italian sailors and traders took no compassion on them, and would give a passage in their ships only to those who could pay. The generous Moslem supplied the poor Christians with all necessaries ; he would not allow the seamen to leave the

harbour till they had taken an oath to convey the poor to where they carried the rich, and he threatened to take exemplary vengeance for any ill-treatment they might receive.

It is not our desire to exalt the Mohammedans at the expense of the Christians; but these facts, all of which are related by the Christians themselves, testify strongly to the degeneracy of the latter, and to the benefit which the fall of their power was to the Holy Land, over which they were no longer worthy to have dominion. Neither will we, like the contemporaries, view in the destruction of their empire a visible and extraordinary interference of Providence for the chastisement of vice. The vices of the Pullani, doubtless, were great, and as is the nature of vice, produced national weakness; but the conservation of the Christian empire in Syria had been hitherto owing to the divisions among its enemies; and it was manifest that its end must come, when they were united under one sceptre, and, as the following crusade will show, no aid from the West would have sufficed to withhold it. It experienced the fate allotted to feebleness opposed to strength; the fate of every state where a small dominant class of different origin, habits, and creed, lords it over a numerous population whom it insults and oppresses. Permanent power can only be based on justice; transitoriness is the characteristic of dominion acquired and maintained by injustice. "I have seen the wicked," says the Psalmist, "in great power and spreading himself like a green bay-tree, yet he passed away, and lo! he was not." A reflection still more true of empires than of individuals.



## THE THIRD CRUSADE.\*

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### PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW CRUSADE.

THOUGH the the passion for pilgrimage had greatly decreased in Europe, and the contempt and aversion with which the degenerate Pullani of Syria were regarded was considerable, yet when intelligence of the battle of Hittin, and of the loss of the Holy City, arrived in the West, it awoke a strong feeling of regret and indignation. As Christians and as knights, the warriors of Europe felt their honour wounded, by the reflection that they had suffered the holy places to be profaned by the heathen, and they burned to wipe away the disgrace. It was also recollected by many who had made the pilgrimage, how much its dangers were alleviated by the country being in the hands of their brethren in the faith, and the valiant knights of the Temple and the Hospital being always in readiness to escort pilgrims to the Jordan and the sanctified places of the land. The trading cities of the South feared that their commerce might suffer by the overthrow of the Christian dominion, and they were anxious for its re-establishment. Thus piety, honour, and interest, conspired to excite the West to pour itself once more in arms upon Asia.

So early as the year 1181, the kings of France and England had, on the distress of the Holy Land being represented to them, promised relief. In 1184 and 1185, the patriarch, Heraclius of Jerusalem, the archbishop William of Tyre, and the master of the Hospital, had implored in person the aid of these monarchs, and they had promised to send both men and money. When the

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\* The principal authorities for the Third Crusade are the English historians, Hoveden, Brompton, Matthew Paris, Hemingford, William of Newburgh, Ralph of Coggeshall, etc., particularly Vinisau, who accompanied King Richard I. Also Arnold of Lubeck, Otto of St. Blaise, Godfrey the monk, etc., the Greek Nicetas, and the Arabs, Boha-ed-deen, Ibn-al-athir, etc.

Holy City had been lost, the pope wrote to the Christian princes in the most pressing terms, and the prelates and princes of Syria, by their ambassadors, displayed so vividly the need of speedy succour, that, it became manifest that further delay would be equivalent to total inaction.

Henry II. of England, and Philip Augustus of France, met on the 13th January, 1188, at the usual place of conference between the kings of France and the dukes of Normandy. This was a venerable elm-tree not far from the town of Gisors, whose trunk was nearly eight fathoms in girth, and beneath whose capacious shade seats of soft and grassy turf offered commodious resting-places to all who passed that way. Here the monarchs, more speedily than could have been expected, put an end to all enmity and dispute between them, and assumed the Cross. Their example was followed by the principal vassals of the crown of France; and it was agreed that, for distinction, crosses of different colours should be worn by the different nations, those of the French were to be red, the English were to have theirs white, and the Flemings green. The enthusiasm which was awakened almost equalled that exhibited in the first crusade; monks abandoned their cells, and priests their churches; the peasant and the citizen were alike eager to take arms; the mother, the wife, and the sister stimulated the hesitating; wool and a distaff were sent in derision to those who preferred their home to the dangers and glories of the war against the infidels. But it was the martial spirit and the genius of chivalry which now called the warriors to the field, and not the simple enthusiasm which had animated the companions of Godfrey of Bouillon.

The Cross was assumed in Germany by the emperor, Frederic Red-Beard (*Barbarossa*), who had already, as duke of Suabia, visited the Holy Land in the former crusade; and the effect of the preaching of the cardinal of Albano in that country almost equalled that formerly produced by the eloquence of St. Bernard.

At the diet held at Mentz, the emperor directed that no one should join the army who was ignorant or incapable of the use of arms, and who had not at least three marks of silver, or the means of supplying himself with the necessaries for an expedition of two years; for the ill

consequences of the crowds of poor who had accompanied the former armies were now apparent. The kings of France and England imposed on their subjects, with few exceptions, a tax of ten per cent. on their incomes and on their movable property, under the name of a Saladin-tithe, with the pretext of making the rich enable the poor to perform their duty to their Saviour, by bearing arms in his cause. In the regulations made by the king of England, all gaming was prohibited among his subjects, and all luxury of dress and food, lest God, it was said, might be provoked to withdraw his aid from their holy enterprise; and the strictest temperance and chastity were enjoined on the crusaders, who, to avoid the occasion of offence, were not to be permitted to take any women with them.

But the arms which were to combat the infidels were soon turned against each other. Richard, earl of Poitou, son of the king of England, engaged in a feud with his vassals, the counts of Angoulême, Lusignan, and others; and the count of Toulouse, thinking this a good occasion for avenging an old grudge on the count of Poitou, seized and plundered some Poitevin traders who were travelling through his territory. He also cast into prison two English knights who came to Toulouse on their return from a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Richard collected an army, and ravaged the lands of the count of Toulouse, who complained to the king of France of this violation of the treaty of Gisors, by which it was determined that all feuds and hostilities should cease between the two kings and their subjects till their return from the crusade.\* Philip embraced the cause of the count of Toulouse; and on King Henry's refusing satisfaction, he led his troops into Berri and took several castles. This occasioned a war between the two monarchs, which continued till the death of the king of England in 1189, brought on in a great measure, it was said, by the ingra-

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\* During this war Philip cut down the fine old elm of Gisors, to the great regret of every one who had beheld it. Different reasons were assigned for this act; but it probably arose from resentment, because, during a three-day truce, which was made for treating of peace, the king of England and his knights sheltered themselves from the sun beneath its shade, while the French king and his attendants were all the day exposed to his burning rays on the open plain, and were mocked at by those who sat beneath the elm.

titude of his son Richard, who, after engaging him in the war, had joined the king of France against him.

#### DEPARTURE OF THE EMPEROR.

WHILE the kings of France and England were thus, negligent of their vow, engaged in hostilities with each other, the emperor of Germany had all his thoughts turned to the making of the necessary preparations for his expedition to the East. At a diet held at Nürnberg he made every effort to establish peace among the princes and knights of the empire, and he obliged the duke of Saxony, Henry the Lion, whose unquiet temper he knew, to quit the empire and repair to the court of his father-in-law, the king of England, for the space of three years. He despatched envoys to the king of Hungary, the emperor of the East, and the Turkish sultan of Iconium, to demand a free passage through their dominions, and a market for provisions; from all these potentates he received friendly answers, and their ambassadors came to Nürnberg and solemnly swore to the treaties. He had already sent to announce to Saladin the cessation of the friendly relations which had previously existed between them, and the sultan had replied with dignity and spirit, setting at nought his threats, but offering, for the sake of peace, to restore the true cross, to release all his prisoners, to put all things relating to the Christians in the Holy Land in the state in which they had been previous to the invasion of it by the Franks, and to give no interruption to pilgrimage from the West, provided the Christians would resign the three cities of Antioch, Tyre, and Tripolis, which they still held. The Eastern writers confess that great fear had fallen upon the Moslems, when they heard that the king of the Allemans was on his way to Asia, and they gave up Syria for lost.

In the Lent of the year 1189, a diet was assembled at Ratisbon, and all those who had taken the cross appeared in arms and prepared to set forth. On St. George's day the army of the crusaders was in motion. The emperor, accompanied by his son, Frederic duke of Suabia, and several princes and prelates, proceeded by water to Passau, and thence to Vienna. After having been magnificently entertained there during some days, by Leopold duke of



Austria, he advanced to Presburg, on the confines of Hungary, where he halted for four days, to give the several divisions of the army time to join him. He here kept his Whitsuntide, and held his last council with the princes of the empire on public affairs, appointing his eldest son Henry to administer the government during his absence. He also established regulations for the maintenance of discipline and order in the army, and he obliged all the pilgrims to swear implicit obedience to these rules.

On the Wednesday of Whit-week the army, thirty thousand in number, passed the Hungarian frontier, and proceeded to Gran, where King Bela and his queen, and a thousand knights, awaited the arrival of the emperor, and gave him a most brilliant and hospitable reception. The duke of Suabia espoused the daughter of the Hungarian monarch. The pilgrims from Bohemia here joined the army, and pilgrims gradually came in from all sides. A numerous body of Hungarians prepared to march to Asia, and the emperor, on reviewing his troops after the passage of the Danube and the Save, found them to amount to a hundred thousand combatants, one-half of whom were horsemen. At Belgrade, the first town of Servia, the emperor held a court of justice to punish violations of the established regulations; two nobles of Alsatia were beheaded, and several other pilgrims severely punished. A tournament was also celebrated at this place, and the emperor bestowed the honour of knighthood upon sixty esquires.

The governor of Servia visited the emperor, to assure him of his friendly disposition toward the pilgrims; but as they passed through the country they found a striking contrast to the treatment which they had experienced in Hungary. The Servians continually infested them with arrows shot from ambush, and the pilgrims in return hung as many of them as fell into their hands. At length they came to the river Morava, and the emperor indulged his army with seven days of repose in a plain by the town of Branditza. The pilgrims from Metz, and those from Hungary, came up here; and King Bela, who had accompanied his subjects, took his final leave of the emperor, after having bestowed on him several valuable presents. For greater security, in passing through a country whose

inhabitants were so hostile, it was here resolved to form the army into four divisions; the first to be composed of the Hungarians and Bohemians, as being best acquainted with the people and their language; the second to be led by the duke of Suabia and the bishop of Ratisbon; the third to be under the bishops of Würzburg, Basel, and Liege, and the fourth to be commanded by the emperor in person. In this order they proceeded, though continually harassed by the Servians, of whom the emperor hung a great number; and having ascertained from some of them that they had been instigated by the governor of Branditza, he returned and burned that town.

On entering the territory of Nissa, the pilgrims, to their great joy, found a friendly reception; Stephen Nee-man, the Great Supan or prince of this part of Servia, and his brothers, had thrown off their allegiance to the court of Byzantium, and they sought to gain the protection of Frederic, whose vassals they offered to become, if he would defend them against the Greeks; in which case they would assist him against all his foes, and further procure him the support of their friends Calopeter and Assan, who had made themselves independent in Thrace and Bulgaria. Frederic gave them a gracious reception, and accepted their present of provisions, but he declined assisting them in war, in breach of his treaty with the Byzantine emperor.

After a halt of six days, the army set forward, and passed the frontier of Bulgaria. In this hilly region they found again everything adverse, the passes of the mountains were barricadoed with walls and palisades, and a combat was to be maintained at each passage; the valleys were held by the Bulgarians, and none of them were to be gone through without fighting, and the enemy when routed fled to the woods and hills, and resumed their position before the next division of the crusaders came up. The peaceful part of the inhabitants left their dwellings and carried away their property, and when the army reached the town of Stralitzium, they found it deserted and empty of provisions. In this town the emperor made new regulations for the preservation of order in the army; and the bishop of Würzburg, by his command, warned the people against robbery and plunder, remind-

ing them of the defeats brought on the children of Israel by the sin of Achan at Jericho. The intelligence of the pass of St. Basil, the last through which they had to go, being blocked up and guarded by the Greek troops, as well as by the Bulgarians, rendered the maintenance of strict discipline more necessary than ever, and the army was now arranged in five instead of four divisions. This danger however proved imaginary; no resistance was offered by the few Greek troops who were posted at the pass of St. Basil, and the army of the Cross defiled without impediment into the plains of Romania.

#### FREDERIC IN THE GREEK EMPIRE.

THE Greek emperor at this time was Isaac Angelus, a weak superstitious prince, led by the dreams or the deceptions of an enthusiastic monk, named Dositheus, whom he had raised to the patriarchal dignity. Dositheus asserted to him that he had been assured by a vision, that the crusade was only a pretext, and that the real object of Frederic was to conquer the empire and to bestow it on the duke of Suabia; he named the gate, the Xylokerus, by the palace of the Blacherns, at which the emperor would attempt to enter the city; which gate Isaac had forthwith walled up, and he got ready a bow and arrows, with which he practised every day, that he might shoot the German emperor with his own hand when he came to attack his capital.

Such being the state of mind of the Byzantine emperor, we need not be surprised that an envoy from him should have met the emperor Frederic on his entrance into Romania, bearing a letter which stated that the emperor Isaac had detained the count of Nassau, and the other ambassadors who had been sent to the imperial court, as hostages, and that he further demanded the duke of Suabia, and six other lay and spiritual princes, as security for the peaceful conduct of the crusaders, as the only condition on which he would give them a free passage and a market in his dominions. He justified these demands by the information which he said he had received from the kings of France and England, and the duke of Branditza, of the real designs of the emperor, and on his knowledge of his friendship with the rebel-

lions Great Supan of Servia. In this letter, which, like all those of the Byzantine court, was couched in haughty terms, the Greek emperor adopted the highest titles for himself, and styled Frederic merely prince of Alemania. The German princes and knights were incensed beyond measure at the contents of this epistle; but the emperor contented himself with replying, that he would not treat any further till his ambassadors were set at liberty.

The measures adopted by the court of Byzantium to impede the crusaders were futile; the roads were barricadoed, and an army of mercenary troops was collected under the command of the emperor's nephew, the Protostrator, Manuel Cametzes, and the Domestic of the West, Alexius Gidus, and sent to defend the frontiers. But the Germans made their way with little impediment to Philippopolis, which city they took possession of and fortified. The Armenians, of whom a great number dwelt in it and the neighbouring towns, were of the greatest service in supplying them with necessaries and information. The duke of Suabia defeated a body of the Greek troops led by the protostrator in person, the crusaders took the city of Berrhœa without meeting any opposition, and they collected such a quantity of booty, that an ox was sold for fivepence, and a ram for threepence; the value of the gold and silver and rich stuffs which fell into their hands could not be estimated, and they wrote home the most joyful accounts of the blessings which God had bestowed on his faithful warriors.

At length, after the province of Philippopolis had been for two entire months in the hands of the crusaders, the emperor Isaac set the ambassadors at liberty, and sent with them the great chancellor John Ducas, and Andronicus Cantacuzenus, to treat of peace with the emperor Frederic. Yet in his letter he could not abstain from his usual insolence and rudeness; the bishop of Münster moved the princes to tears by the narrative of the sufferings of himself and his companions in the embassy, and informed them of the alliance concluded between the Greek emperor and Saladin, of the preparations made by the Greeks to destroy the crusaders in their passage over the strait, and of a sermon of the patriarch's, in which he promised forgiveness of sins to those who would aid in



their destruction; the emperor therefore resolved on vigorous measures. When the Greek ambassadors were introduced, he, with mock courtesy, made not only them, but all their followers, cooks, grooms, and all, be seated. In this the ambassadors thought they discerned not merely a retortion of the discourtesy of their emperor, who had let the German envoys deliver their message standing, but a contempt of their nation in general. Frederic then raised his powerful voice, and dwelt on the presumption of Isaac in not giving him his proper title,—a littleness into which even hostility had not betrayed his predecessor Manuel—expatiated on his superior dignity as emperor of the West over their master, who, he said, should style himself emperor of the Romanians, and not of the Romans, whose city they had abandoned. Then, in a milder tone, he added, to calm their visible fears, that it was not the custom of his country to exercise violence against ambassadors, and that he only required that all the property of which his ambassadors had been deprived should be returned. On this head they said they had no instructions, and they took their departure.

The emperor called a council of war to deliberate on what was now to be done, and whether it would be advisable to force their way over to Asia; but the princes in general were of opinion that, as it was so far in the year, the better plan would be to winter in Europe, and to pass over in the spring. As the army, if kept together, would be too burdensome to any one district, it was resolved to divide it. The greater part of the Hungarians, on learning this resolution returned home, the emperor making no efforts to detain them, as he was of opinion that compulsive service was not grateful to God.

Philippopolis was assigned to the duke of Suabia, and the bishops of Liege, Münster, Passau, and Toul, and their troops. The emperor himself set out (Nov. 5) for Adrianople. On his march he met no interruption from the Greek troops; clouds of smoke ascended to heaven from the towns and villages set on fire by the crusaders as they advanced, and the country was pillaged in a dreadful manner. Adrianople, though built at the conflux of the Hebrus and the Artiscus, and fortified by strong

walls and towers, was deserted by the inhabitants at the approach of the Germans, and they entered on St. Cecilia's day and took possession of it. The war against the Greeks was now renewed with the utmost vigour; the duke of Suabia spread devastation far and wide; the city of Demotica, whither many of the people of Adrianople had fled, was taken by assault, and its defenders slain, and the quantity of provisions found in it sufficed the entire army for ten weeks. The duke of Suabia extended his ravages to the towns of the sea-coast. The animosity against the Greek emperor was inflamed by information given by some of the people of one of the towns which they took, that several wells had been poisoned by his orders, and vessels full of poisoned wine left where the pilgrims were expected to come. A letter also arrived from queen Sibylla, in which she informed the emperor that Saladin had sent to Constantinople six hundred bushels of poisoned flour for the destruction of the crusaders.

In the beginning of the following year (1190) the emperor ordered the entire army to assemble at Adrianople. After a toilsome march of twenty-three days, the troops from Philippopolis, which town they had destroyed, arrived on the sixth of February. When tidings of this junction of the pilgrim-army reached Constantinople, the people were filled with terror, and they earnestly pressed the emperor to conclude a durable peace. Isaac, whose unsteadiness and want of faith had hitherto broken off all treaties, was obliged now to think in earnest of accommodation. Frederic on his part was anxious for peace with the Greeks; his advanced age made him impatient of delay, lest he might not live to free the Holy City, and he knew that without the aid of the Greeks he would find it difficult to cross over to Asia. A treaty was accordingly concluded, by which the German emperor bound himself to pass over at Gallipolis, instead of coming to Constantinople, to march his troops along the highway, and to suffer no injury to be done to the vineyards and corn-fields on the route. The Grecian emperor engaged to restore all the property of the ambassadors, and to make good all their losses; to furnish provisions on the road, and ships sufficient for passing over the

army in two turns, and finally, to give hostages, the chief of whom should remain in the hands of the emperor Frederic till he was safely arrived at Philadelphia. This treaty was solemnly sworn to on both sides, and the emperor Isaac sent the hostages without delay, accompanied by rich presents. At this time arrived also an embassy from Az-ed-deen, sultan of Iconium, who had lately abdicated, to assure the emperor of the good feeling of himself and his son and successor, Malek Shâh, toward him, and of their impatience for his arrival. The crusaders now thought all their sufferings at an end, and looked forward to a safe and unmolested passage to Syria. The emperor made them renew their oath of obedience to the rules of discipline, and he sent on before some intelligent men to examine the road to Gallipolis. The weather was at this time uncommonly cold and stormy.

On the first of March, two days after the arrival of the Grecian hostages, the duke of Suabia set out with his division from Adrianople, and on the following day the emperor left that city. The weather still continued cold and rigorous; dreadful storms, accompanied by violent rains, which destroyed the roads, came on; the swelling of the rivers rendered the passage of them extremely difficult and hazardous; provisions and forage failed; for, from the state of the roads, the people of the country, however well inclined, could not approach them. Many of the Greeks who followed the army for the sake of traffic were found frozen to death in the fields. After a painful march of three weeks the army reached Gallipolis, where they found fifteen hundred transports and twenty-seven ships of war, ready to carry them across the Hellespont. Next day the duke of Suabia and his troops passed over; the passage of the entire army occupied six days, and not a single life was lost. On the last day, the Wednesday of Easter week, the emperor ascended a ship, amidst the sound of trumpets, pipes, and other instruments from the Greek vessels, and landed on the coast of Asia. "My brethren," said he, as he stepped ashore, "be strong and courageous, for all the land is in our hand."

The army which now entered Asia numbered, on the lowest computation, eighty-two thousand fighting men,

and among their leaders were one archbishop, seven bishops, two dukes, three marquises, and nineteen counts; and discipline, and the presence of a man of the emperor's talents and authority, rendered it the most formidable host that had entered Asia since the time of the first great passage.

#### FREDERIC IN ASIA.

ON the following day (March 29) the march began along the sea-coast, leaving the site of Troy to the left, and then striking more into the interior. The carriages had all been left behind at Gallipolis, and the baggage and provisions were placed on the backs of beasts of burden. As they ascended the steep and rugged mountain paths, the burdens slipped continually off the beasts, and great difficulties were encountered in passing the swollen and rapid rivers which crossed their route. They proceeded by Thyatira and Sardis, and on the 21st April they arrived at Philadelphia, where the Grecian hostages were set at liberty. The inhabitants of the country had hitherto shown themselves friendly-disposed toward the pilgrims; parties of robbers occasionally annoyed them, but their boldness was well chastised by the arms of the knights. At Philadelphia the pilgrims unprovokedly destroyed the corn-fields at the gate of the city, and offered violence to the Greek traders. The inhabitants having taken arms and killed some of the pilgrims, some of the leaders were for storming the town in revenge; but the prudent emperor restrained them, and assured the governor of his amity. As the army was afterwards climbing the steep hills of Lydia, five hundred Philadelphian horsemen fell on the rear-guard, but the emperor speedily collected a body of knights and drove them off with loss. At Laodicea their reception was very different from that experienced there formerly by the army of the bishop of Frisingen, and they halted for some days, and purchased cattle and provisions for their passage through the barren and desert realm of the sultan of Iconium.

On entering the territory of the Turks, Frederic renewed his injunctions against robbery and plunder, and the cattle and tents of a Turkman horde, which had fled



out of fear to the mountains, were left untouched. The inhabitants on their part seemed disposed to be friendly and brought in provisions; but the emperor soon learned that Saladin had prevailed on the sultan not to adhere to his engagements with the Christians.

Malek Shâh had collected an immense number of Turkman horsemen, and they proceeded to harass the pilgrims in their usual mode, which was favoured so much by the nature of the country. They suddenly rushed from the narrow glens of the mountains, their archers were concealed in every wood, they occupied the passes and defiles, and the pilgrims were incessantly annoyed by their attacks. But the sultan's ambassadors, who were still with the emperor, assured him that these were nothing but bands of robbers, whose destruction would give great pleasure to their master. The emperor therefore was only anxious to guard against their attacks; he took himself the charge of the rear; the active duke of Suabia led the advance guard, and the unarmed and the baggage were placed in the centre, well defended on the flanks by knights and archers.

A numerous body of Turks having set themselves one day to impede, by rolling down waggons full of stones, the army on its way over a hill at the entrance of a narrow pass, the emperor put in practice the following stratagem. When he heard their trumpets and kettledrums sounding the onset, he divided the army, placing a part of it in ambush, concealing a select party of knights in his royal tent, which he left standing; and having, for the greater deception, caused a great smoke to be raised, he made with the remainder of the army as if he were about to take another road.\* The Turks, leaving their advantageous position, descended into the plain, eager to plunder the camp; when suddenly the knights rushed from the tent and slaughtered them, and at the same time the rest of the army fell on those who still remained on the hill. Five hundred of the Turks were slain, and the army pursued its march. On the third day they again engaged and defeated the Turks, and took their camp well stored with provisions.

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\* See p. 196.

But famine soon began to make its appearance in the Christian camp, and the emperor, having had one of two Turks who had been just taken brought before him, offered him his life if he would lead the army by the shortest and most commodious way to the fruitful part of the country. The Turk feigned willingness, and directed them to leave the road which they were on and to turn to the left, by which they would in two days reach the plain. His treacherous advice was unhappily followed, and instead of making for the sea-coast by Satalia, the crusaders entered the heart of the territories of the sultan of Iconium. The Turkish ambassadors at this time prevailed on the emperor to let them go forward to dispose the emir of Philomelium in his favour, and Frederic sent with them a knight named Godfrey. But the knight was cast into prison; and the ambassadors, pretending that the same was their own case, had the boldness to send for the things they had left behind. Frederic, though aware of their falsehood, disdained to take any notice of it.

The first day's march led through a country abounding in flocks and herds; and on the second day, from the top of a mountain, they descried the plain. But the mountain was steep, and in the descent several of the horses and beasts of burden were lost, and the attacks of the Turks were carried on with redoubled activity, though they were always obliged to yield to the valour of the crusaders. The sultan sent to offer peace for a large sum of money, but the brave old emperor replied in derision, that he would give them one small piece of coin, provided they would share it fairly among them, so that no one should have more or less than another.

As the pilgrims drew near to Philomelium, a countless multitude of Turks came against them. The engagement began in the evening, and before the night five thousand Turks lay on the plain. The Christians had to fight their way the following morning, and on the third day their guide pointed out to them the banner of the sultan, and bade them mark the sound of his trumpets. The knights were now obliged to slaughter their horses and asses for food; many of the people, impelled by hunger, went over to the enemy and abjured their faith; the more pious, when quite exhausted, divided their property among the

more vigorous, and stretching themselves on the ground in the form of a Cross, awaited martyrdom. On the day of Pentecost alone the army halted. The emperor held a council of war in his tent, and the appearance of those who attended it sufficiently testified the state to which the army was reduced. Those knights who used on such solemn occasions to bathe and perfume themselves, and put on garments of silk and fur, appeared in tarnished armour, and with visages haggard with want and privation. But their courage and their reliance on God were still strong, and the bishop of Würzburg, in an animated harangue, reminded them how, after the effusion of the Holy Spirit on this day, the faith had been spread by the courage and the constancy of the martyrs and confessors. He also called to their recollection those passages of Scripture which told how one had put a thousand, and two ten thousand to flight, and exhorted them to perseverance. The emperor, in a noble discourse, supported his arguments, and all present raised in Suabian fashion a loud song of war, and repaired to their tents to eat their frugal meal.

Early next morning the mass was sung, the warriors received the holy sacrament, and in battle-array they awaited the onfall of the Turks. As these refused the battle, and only attacked in their usual desultory manner, the emperor divided his army into three corps; the first was led by the bishops of Würzburg and Münster, then followed the two others parallel to each other, that on the right commanded by Frederic himself, that on the left by the duke of Suabia; the unarmed were placed between them, defended by knights and archers. In this order the army forced its way through the squadrons of the enemy, and Malek Shâh himself was borne down by the lance of a knight, and narrowly escaped captivity. The reluctance of the sultan to give battle was ascribed, by an Armenian knight who passed over to the Christians, to the counsel of one of his emirs, who, by producing the arm of a Turk which one of the pilgrims had struck off at a blow, gave him ocular demonstration of the prodigious strength of the German knights, and still more to the recollection of a troop of white knights who had hitherto spread terror and confusion in the Turkish hordes. In

these knights the crusaders recognized St. George and his comrades, who had at Antioch scattered the heathens of Kerboga; and an honourable and veracious knight asserted that he had seen the white troop, and offered to prove his truth by the ordeal of hot iron.

The following day, to their great joy, they reached a marshy piece of water, at which they refreshed themselves; the knights killed their horses and asses, and dressed their flesh at fires made of their saddles, clothes, and arms. As they were now near Iconium, a council of war was held; some were for passing by that city as rapidly as possible, others for making an attack on it, and conquering or dying. The last opinion prevailed; the pilgrims prayed for aid to God and St. George, the emperor vowed a church to the saint, and on the following day the army, having proceeded slowly on account of the number of the sick and feeble, and being harassed by the continual assaults of the Turks, encamped in the evening in a park of the sultan's, before the city of Iconium.

#### ATTACK ON ICONIUM.

**I**CONIUM, now called Koniah, lies in a plain enclosed on all sides but the east by snow-capped mountains. To the east the plain extends as far as the eye can reach. It abounds in water, having numerous springs, and a copious river, which pours itself into a lake. Gardens stretch along the hills for some miles from the town, which was defended by a strong wall, and on a hill in its centre rose the citadel. It was well situated for defence, and the gardens afforded great advantages for ambush.

The night spent by the pilgrims before Iconium was stormy, and the incessant rain gave them no rest in their tents. In the morning the emperor divided the efficient part of the army into two corps: the one, under the duke of Suabia, was destined to attack the town, the other, commanded by himself, to repel the attacks of the Turkish army; the clergy, the sick, and the helpless in general were placed between the two arrays. Neither, however hard pressed, was to call on the other for aid. Every pilgrim who had provisions was directed to share with him who had not, as that night would either see them in possession of Iconium or enjoying the bliss of Paradise.



While the army was arranging itself for battle, ambassadors came from the sultan with offers of peace; but the emperor replied that he would hear of no terms so long as his envoy was detained, and he ordered the duke of Suabia to advance to the attack. Godfrey was immediately sent out of the city, but his presence did not stop the assault.

The duke of Suabia and his knights, though impeded by the wetness of the ground, drove the Turks before them; the archers mounted the garden-walls, and shot those who were in ambush. A hard conflict was sustained by the Turks at the gate of the town, and the Christian knights were forced to give back; but the duke of Suabia, with a loud voice, reminding them of their vow, they renewed their efforts, and after a conflict of six hours the Christians entered the city pellmell with the flying Turks. The sultan and his son Malek Shâh, and the richest inhabitants, fled with their most valuable effects to the citadel. No age or sex was spared by the victors; the number of the slaughtered was dreadful, the booty gained was immense. The quantity of provisions, and the number of horses, mules, and asses, which fell into the hands of the pilgrims, filled them with joy and thanksgiving.

The emperor met a more vigorous resistance; his knights were exhausted and nearly reduced to despair, and the prelates and clergy put on their stoles and prepared themselves for certain death. The venerable emperor, who was in the centre, then cried aloud, "Why stand we here and grieve? Christ is victorious, Christ reigns, Christ commands. Come on, my mates in arms, who have left your homes to purchase heaven with your blood." Then giving spurs to his horse he charged the heathen, followed by his knights, and the foes were soon scattered as the dust before the wind. The victorious warriors joyfully entered the town, and joined their brethren in the siege of the citadel. Ambassadors soon came down from the sultan, excusing the conduct of himself and his son, imputing it to the influence of evil counsellors and their dread of Saladin, and offering as many hostages as the emperor should demand. Frederic returned a mild answer; ten emirs, and ten other principal personages, whom he selected, were sent to him, and after an abode of but three days

the crusaders left the city. They stayed four days longer in the park, during which time they were abundantly supplied with provisions, and they disposed of their superfluous beasts of burden. On the 26th of May they set out with joyful anticipations for Cilicia; but they were still harassed by the desultory attacks of the Turkish hordes.

#### DEATH OF FREDERIC.

ON the fourth day of their march the pilgrims reached Larenda, the frontier town of the Turkish territory. After a halt of a few days they entered on that of the Armenian princes, and were cheered by the sight of the crosses erected to mark out the lands belonging to the villages. The Turkish hostages now demanded their liberty, but it was refused, as hostilities had been continued on the road from Iconium, and they were carried prisoners to Antioch. Though the country through which they now passed was friendly, and the inhabitants brought in provisions freely, the pilgrims found that their toils were by no means at an end. Their road lay over steep and barren mountains, and the petty princes of the country were too much under awe of Saladin to exert themselves openly in their favour. They were again reduced to feed on roots and plants, sickness spread among them, and the gallant bishops, who used to manage their war-steeds with such spirit and vigour, were now to be seen carried along in horse-litters.

On the 10th of June, the fourth day of their journey through the Armenian territory, the pilgrims, after a wearisome march over a steep precipitous mountain, came to the city of Seleucia, lying in a fruitful plan, through which the river Selef or Calycadnus flows. But as they were in the evening pitching their tents, their joy was converted into sorrow by intelligence of the death of the brave and good old emperor, who had lost his life in the waves of the river. According to one account, as he was riding along its banks in the burning heat of the day, he felt a strong inclination to bathe in its transparent waters, and, contrary to the advice of those who were about him, he went into it and attempted to swim across, but his strength failing he was carried away by the current and drowned ;

others with more probability say, that impatient of the delay caused by the beasts of burden crossing the narrow bridge, and anxious to get forward, he went to ride through the river, and was drowned in the waves. His death caused the utmost grief and consternation among the pilgrims, who placed all their confidence in his wisdom and valour.

On all occasions they had turned to him, says an old writer, as the plants to the sun; they now cried that fortune was departed from them, since the emperor, the father, the leader, was gone.

They proceeded under the guidance of the duke of Suabia, and on the ninth day after the death of the emperor they reached Antioch in safety. The viscera of the deceased monarch were here taken out, and with the flesh, which was separated from his bones by boiling in water, were interred before the high altar in St. Peter's cathedral. The duke of Suabia carried with him to Tyre, whither he shortly afterwards proceeded, the bones of his heroic sire, and gave them sepulture in that city. A portion of the disheartened pilgrims, neglectful of their vows, returned home by sea from Antioch, or scattered themselves in various directions. The braver and more effective part joined, under the duke of Suabia, the Christian army then beleaguering Acre.

This was the last pilgrim-army which attempted to reach Syria by land, and its ill success proved the futility of such attempts, for it had every circumstance in its favour. It entered Asia at the best season of the year; it was composed solely of fighting-men, and was led by the first man of his age, and one who, having already passed through Asia, was well acquainted with the nature of the country and the people. But the treachery of the Greeks, the constant and desultory warfare of the Turks, the barrenness and ruggedness of the country, were difficulties which even the genius of Frederic could not completely obviate; and the losses experienced, though not to be compared with those on former occasions, were such as to discourage all similar attempts. A pleasing feature in this expedition is the strict discipline maintained by the able and pious emperor, in which he appears to have been seconded by the good disposition of his people. "This people,"

writes an Armenian prince to Saladin, "maintain a strict discipline, so that whoever among them commits a crime is, without speech and answer, slaughtered like a sheep. Pleasure is so alien to them that they fly from, and even punish, those who are addicted to it. The cause of this rigour is their anxiety about Jerusalem. It is also true, that several among them had for a long time renounced all kind of clothing, as being prohibited to them, and were only clad in their iron armour, till their leaders disapproved of it. Wonderful is their endurance of inconvenience, their equanimity, and their perseverance."

#### DEPARTURE OF THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND ENGLAND.

IN the autumn of the year 1181, Philip king of France and Richard King of England held each an assembly of his prelates and nobles, in which it was decided that all those who had taken the cross should assemble in arms at Vezelay in France, before the end of the ensuing Easter. Richard, having previously made a pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyr St. Edmund, crossed the sea, and after Christmas held an interview with the French monarch, at the bridge of St. Rémi, near Ronancourt. Various circumstances however occurring to delay their preparations, the two monarchs met again in the month of March (1190) at Dreux, and the rendezvous was appointed for the eighth day after the festival of St. John without any fail.

As England had taken little share in the former crusades, the Jews, who dwelt in that country, had been hitherto safe from the effects of the zeal of the holy warriors. But religious fury, combined with motives of interest, now resolved to pour out its vengeance on that unhappy people. A great number of them dwelt at York, and on Palm Sunday the people assembled, menacing them with destruction. The Jews took refuge in the castle, where the people besieged them; in vain the wretched children of Israel offered money to redeem their lives, no mercy was to be had. Inspired at length with courage by the discourse of a rabbi, they slew with their own hands their wives and children, flung their corpses out among the people, and then setting fire to the tower perished in the flames. The Jews had been already massacred at



Norwich and other places. But the bishop of Ely, the chancellor and justiciary of the kingdom, hastened to York, and severely punished those who had been the most forward in this persecution.

The King of England assembled a hundred and six large ships in the ports of his French and English dominions, which were ordered to sail round to Marseilles, to take the pilgrims on board; and five judges were appointed for the maintenance of order in this fleet, and a code of regulations for it was drawn up. According to this code, whoever killed another during the voyage was to be tied to the corpse and flung into the sea; if on land, was to be tied to it and buried alive. Whoever drew a knife on another was to lose his hand; a blow of the fist was to be punished with ducking, and foul language by a payment of as many ounces of silver as there had been words uttered; thieves were to be close-shorn, pitch put on their head, and feathers shaken on it, and in that condition they were to be turned ashore at the first land the vessel came to.

The king of France visited, according to the custom, the abbey of St. Denis, and there received, from the hands of his uncle the archbishop of Rheims, the pilgrim-staff and wallet, and took with his own hand two silken banners, which waved over the relics of the saint, and two Oriflammes, embroidered with crosses of gold, to be his protection in his pilgrimage. Having then provided for the administration of his kingdom and his house, he set out for Vezelay. Richard Cœur de Lion assembled his pilgrims at Tours, where he took from the hands of the archbishop of that city the staff and wallet, the former of which brake as he leaned upon it, a circumstance which was regarded as an evil omen. He then proceeded to join the king of France at Vezelay, where a hundred thousand warriors covered the plains and hills with their tents. The Duke of Burgundy and the Count of Flanders had here joined the pilgrims who marched under their banners, and it was agreed that all the crusaders should re-assemble at Messina in Sicily. After a repose of two days the kings and their trains set out for Lyons. The pilgrims experienced no little difficulty and danger in crossing the rapid stream of the Rhone; but at length they all got

safely over. A few days set out on their road for hired ships to convey them. Philip and his army set ~~s~~ was favourable till they came but here they encountered a came dark as pitch, the thunder bellowed, the lightning now sh revealing even the minutest o, lowed up again in the gloom; the masts, the whistling of the w horses, military machines, and overboard to lighten the vessels, ma. At length, on the 10th of September in piteous plight entered the port of

On the fourth day after the departure pilgrims, the king of England led the great army to Marseilles. Many, dubious of aboard the ships, went over land, designing ping in the Italian ports. The king, and those to Marseilles, were disappointed in their hope the fleet there; it had been grievously tossed in the bay of Biscay, and Don Sancho of Portugal vessels ran singly into the ports of Lisbon or Sy. vailed on the pilgrims to aid him against the Moors. ring the tempests which the English navy encountered the chosen warriors were cheered by celestial visions, while the storm was raging with its utmost fury. A blessed St. Thomas of Canterbury appeared to these pilgrims, and assured them that the care of the fleet had been committed by God to himself, and St. Edmund, and St. Nicholas, and immediately the wind abated. When all the ships had re-assembled in the port of Lisbon they set sail for the straits of Gibraltar, and on the 22nd August they arrived at Marseilles.

The king of England, having waited eight days, had set out a fortnight before with twenty-three hired ships for the coast of Italy. Each night he disembarked and slept on shore; at Genoa he had an interview with King Philip, who there lay sick; he stopped a few days at Porto Fino in the bay of Rapallo; he rested again at Pisa, and he and his knights rode thence on hired horses to Piombino.

ought them to the mouth in an interview with the self in no measured terms of the court of Rome, which though invited by the pope: along a road paved, as we are miles with marble, through a , abounding in harts, roes, and ard of his vessels, he reached having visited the abbey of St. nights proceeded on hired horses bode until he heard of the safe lessina.

nd his train rode through Calabria, alerno to Messina, he passed with a ough a village on the road between Mi- a, and seeing a fine hawk in the house of seized it, and was carrying it away; the ain reclaimed his bird; the other peasants aid with sticks and stones, one of them rushed awn knife at the king, who struck him with his sword; the sword broke, and the king ith difficulty to Bagnara. He passed the strait ross of time, slept that night in a tent on shore, at morning (September 23) got on board of one of st ships, and followed by the others, with trumpets all kinds of martial music sounding, entered the port Messina. The inhabitants, and the king of France and is army, stood ranged on the shore to witness the pom- pous entry of the king of England, who landed and took up his quarters in the suburbs, after a confidential inter- view with the king of France. Philip attempted that very day to sail for Syria, but the wind changing he was forced to put back into Messina.

#### THE KINGS AT MESSINA.

AT Messina Richard was visited by his sister Johanna, widow of William the late king of Sicily, and he had on her account a warm dispute with Tancred, the present king, from whom he demanded satisfaction for his unjust confinement of her, and the county of St. Angelo as her dower; and with it, according to old Sicilian fashion, a

golden table twelve feet long and a foot and a half broad, with two golden tripods, a silken tent large enough to allow two hundred knights to sit at table in it, twenty golden basins, and as many golden plates. For himself he required, by virtue of the agreement concluded between his father and the late King William, a thousand loads of wheat, as many of barley, and the use of a hundred ships of war, fully equipped for a year. Tancred replied that the demands of Johanna had been already satisfied by his settlement with her, as she was leaving Palermo.

Unanimity did not long continue between the Sicilians and the English pilgrims; the former, like all the South-erns, hated the Northerns, and the English were at no pains to conceal their contempt for the mingled breed of Greeks and Saracens which they esteemed the Messinians to be, and their frank and cordial treatment of the fair sex awakened the jealousy of their Sicilian husbands. A spark therefore kindled a conflagration. An English pilgrim was one day buying bread from a Sicilian woman; enraged at his offering what she esteemed too low a price, the seller began to abuse him, several of her countrymen came up, seized the pilgrim, tore his hair, and otherwise ill-treated him. The gates were closed, armed men mounted the walls and towers, and provoked the pilgrims to an assault, their challenge was accepted, and Richard soon, to his surprise, learned that a large portion of his army was attacking the town. He mounted his fleetest horse, with his stick in his hand, with which he belaboured well the assailants, but to no purpose. He then clad himself in armour, and having at last succeeded in ending the tumult, proceeded to the palace of King Tancred to arrange measures for future tranquillity.

Next morning three Sicilian archbishops and other men of rank waited on the king of England, to re-establish peace; the king of France and several prelates and barons also repaired thither. As they were in the midst of their deliberations, news came to Richard that the Sicilians had attacked the quarters of Hugh Le Brun, a Norman knight; the envoys denied the possibility of it, and the king was satisfied. But when a second and third messenger had come, he flung himself on his war-horse and hastened to the scene of action, to make peace as he had



done the day before. The Sicilians received him with shouts of abuse; the anger of Richard was kindled; he armed himself, and, driving them before him like chaff before the wind, he pursued them to the city, and killed several of them at one of the gates. A conflict had at the same time taken place between the pilgrims and the citizens at the gates, which were closed; the pilgrims had several times forced their way into the town, though assailed by stones and darts from the walls and towers, but were driven out again. The French pilgrims and their king, instead of seeking to re-establish peace, rather took the side of the Sicilians. At length, a body of the English discovered a gate which was unguarded; they broke it open and rushed in, unbarred the remaining gates, and King Richard and ten thousand of his warriors were soon in the town; all who offered resistance were slain, the houses were plundered of their most valuable contents, the women of condition were made prisoners, the ships in the harbour were burnt to prevent escape, and, to the sore annoyance of the French, the banners of England were seen to float on the walls and towers of Messina.

The king of France sent immediately to demand that his banners should be planted on the walls along with those of King Richard, and the French joined with the English in the guard of the walls. Richard was about to return a haughty reply, but his barons soothed him, and he assented to the demand of the French king, who then offered his mediation between Richard and Tancred, and the duke of Burgundy and some other knights were sent to Palermo on the part of the king of England. Philip now had the boldness to claim a portion of the plunder of Messina, and in such assuming terms that Richard declared his resolution of proceeding alone to Palestine; whereupon Philip withdrew his claim. The two monarchs then met, and on the 8th of October they and their prelates and barons swore fidelity and mutual aid to each other, on both the passage to and the return from the Holy Land, and made several regulations for the keeping of order and discipline in their armies.

The peace was speedily made between the kings of England and Sicily, and sworn to by them and their prelates and barons. Richard agreed to give up the claims—

(3)

of his sister for twenty thousand ounces of gold, and his own for an equal quantity of that metal; which last sum however was to be considered as the marriage portion of the daughter of King Tancred, who was betrothed to Arthur duke of Bretagne, the nephew and presumptive heir of King Richard, and which was to be repaid in case of the death of that young prince, or his refusal to fulfil the agreement made for him by his uncle. King Richard bound himself not only to abstain from hostility during his abode in Sicily, but to defend that isle against all enemies. All the plunder was given back to the Mes-sinians, and confidence was in a great measure restored between them and the crusaders. The treaty did not however put an effectual stop to the quarrels between the islanders and their guests, and the repose of King Richard was not unfrequently disturbed by their broils. To secure himself and his army against any treachery which might be meditated, he fortified the island in the Faro of Messina, and built, on a steep hill near the town, a strong castle of timber, named Mate-griffon (*Slay-griffon*?).

The French king not being by any means so generous as his brother of England, the French pilgrims began to suffer from want, and after Christmas, Philip, at the solicitation of his barons, sent to urge the king of England to fix the month of March for the time of their departure. But Richard, who was engaged to marry Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, wished to defer it till the month of August, alleging that he required that time to repair his ships and to construct his military machines. Philip then summoned him as his vassal immediately to perform his agreement, and on the refusal of the king of England he called on those of his barons who had sworn with him to do as they were in duty bound; they unanimously declared that they were ready to set out for the Holy Land, and Richard, in his rage, menaced them with the loss of their fiefs. All concord was now nearly at an end between the two monarchs.

The following trifling incident will serve to illustrate the ferocity of the character of King Richard. On Candlemas-day (1191) he held a feast and entertained several of the knights, both of his own household and of that of

the king of France. After the mid-day meal they amused themselves, as was the usual practice, with knightly exercises outside of the town. As they were riding home through Messina, in the utmost harmony, they met a peasant with an ass laden with a species of long canes which grow in Italy and Sicily. They seized these canes and began to beat one another manfully with them; King Richard happened to encounter a gallant French knight, named William de Bar, and they struck with such vigour that both their canes were broken, and the coat of the king was torn. In a rage he ran his horse at the knight with design to unhorse him, but he stood the shock, and the king's saddle giving way he was thrown. Mounting another horse, he ran again at the knight, with as little success. He then broke out into abuse of him, vowing eternal enmity to him and his. In vain the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, and the other French barons, interceded for the innocent knight; the king of England was inexorable, and it was not until the French fleet was on the eve of sailing that he could be prevailed on to grant him his forgiveness.

In the month of March an interview, for the purpose of accommodating all differences between the kings of England and Sicily, took place at Catania; Tancred advanced five miles to meet the English monarch; the two princes alighted, embraced, and proceeded together on foot to that town, where Richard was entertained during three days with the utmost magnificence. When he was about to depart the noble Tancred presented him with many costly gifts, of which he would only accept a small ring as a memorial of friendship, giving in return Caliburn, the formidable sword of the renowned Arthur. Tancred accompanied him a long way on his return, and on taking leave expressed in strong terms his conviction of the falsehood of the representations made to him by the king of France, concerning the views and designs of Richard, and informed him of that monarch's offer of aid against him, through the Duke of Burgundy. "By God," cried the chivalrous king of England, "it is not possible, and may the judgment of God come upon all who so deal! How could the king of France act so, who is my liege lord and my fellow-pilgrim?" Whereupon Tancred, it

is said, handed him the letter sealed with the signet of the king of France, which had been delivered to him by the Duke of Burgundy, and offered, in case of that lord denying it, to maintain his truth by one of his knights in the judicial combat. Richard was so incensed against Philip, that when he heard he was coming to Taormina to visit King Tancred, he returned by another way to Messina, to avoid meeting him.

According to the English historians, Richard sent the count of Flanders to show to Philip the letter which Tancred had put into his hands. But the king of France utterly denied it, and said it was all an invention of Richard's to give a colour to his dishonourable rejection of his sister, the Princess Alice. Richard, it is said, coolly replied, that he required no pretext for not espousing a princess who had had a son by his father, King Henry; and Philip was glad to hush up the business for a sum of ten thousand marks of silver, to be paid in four equal terms, and an assurance that the princess should be sent back within a month after King Richard's return from his pilgrimage. All matters concerning their mutual relations were once more arranged, and on the 30th March the fleet of the French monarch weighed anchor, and after a prosperous navigation arrived at Ptolemais on the thirteenth day of the following month.

#### VOYAGE OF KING RICHARD.

**T**HE very day on which King Philip left Messina, arrived in that city Queen Eleanor, the king of England's mother, and his bride, the Princess Berengaria. After a very short stay the queen-mother set out for Naples on her return home; and on the 16th of April King Richard, after having levelled his wooden castle of Mate-griffun, sailed from the port of Messina. In the early morning, his Dromones or great war-ships put to sea; on board of one of them, which displayed a mimic lion and bore that name, ascended the Princess Berengaria and the dowager queen of Sicily, attended by a gallant train of knights. When the king had dined and taken solemn leave of the people of Messina, he went on board of his own vessel; and that afternoon the whole navy, two hundred ships in number, proceeded with swelling sails and joyous clamour along the Faro toward the open sea.



Light breezes and calms detained the fleet for some days off the coasts of Italy and Sicily. On the fourth a violent storm came on from the south, and dispersed it. The king, whose own ship stood the sea stoutly, caused every night a large wax candle to be lighted and hung aloft in a lantern, as a signal to the other vessels, several of which were thus enabled to rejoin him. Three of the largest ships were driven by a fresh storm to the coast of Cyprus, and wrecked off the port of Limasol.\* The ship in which were the queen and the princess was also driven to that island.

The king, and the vessels which had joined him, first made the coast of Candia; they then ran into a bay of Rhodes, where they remained ten days, for the king to recover the effects of his sea-sickness, and thence proceeded to Cyprus. On the way they met a ship coming from Syria, and learned, from the pilgrims who were on board, the safe arrival of the king of France, and that he was busily engaged in the construction of machines for the siege of Acre.

The emperor, as he proudly styled himself, of Cyprus, at this time was Isaac Comnenus, a son of the daughter of Isaac, the incapable elder brother of the late Emperor Manuel. He had taken advantage of the general abhorrence of the tyrant Andronicus, to make himself master of that island, and Isaac Angelus was of too feeble a character to be able to dispossess him. But the distant tyranny of Andronicus had been less oppressive to the Cypriots than the immediate pressure of the yoke of a far worse despot, and they impatiently longed for deliverance. The pilgrims also suffered from his cruelty and his avarice; those who approached the island were seized by him, the rich were forced to pay a heavy ransom, the poor were reduced to slavery. The atrocity of his character gave credit to the report that he and Saladin had entered into a treaty, ratified by each drinking of the blood of the other.

The pilgrims who were on board the English vessels

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\* The vice-chancellor and several of the knights who were on board perished in the waves. The royal signet was afterwards found by a Cypriot on the body of the chancellor, when it was driven on shore, and offered for sale in the English camp.

which had been wrecked were received with apparent kindness, and under pretence of providing for their safety placed in a deserted castle, of which the entrance was guarded, and no egress permitted to them. Other pilgrims, among whom were several knights of note, met the same treatment; they were deprived of their arms, to obviate, as was said, all suspicion and distrust. Their liberation when they required it was refused them, and the clothes and provisions sent from the ship of the queens to them were withheld by the Greeks. Convinced that their destruction was meditated, they, with no other other weapons than three cross-bows, resolved to achieve their liberty. They broke out of the castle in a close body, two knights armed with the cross-bows kept off the Greeks; the pilgrims who were in the ship, when they saw them, hastened to their aid, and they escaped with very little loss. The emperor, who came that very day to Limasol, pretended ignorance of, and anger at, the treatment which they had experienced, and offered to make good all their losses. The following day he sent a pressing invitation to the royal ladies to come on shore; the day after it was repeated, accompanied by a present of Cyprian wine and fresh provisions; the third day it was urged still more vehemently. The ladies, who suspected treachery and feared violence, were on the fourth day relieved from their anxiety by the view of two ships in the offing and making for Cyprus, and soon the entire fleet of the king of England came in sight.

#### RICHARD IN CYPRUS.

**K**ING RICHARD was resolved to avenge the wrongs and indignities of his subjects. Isaac, as was the habit of his family, attempted resistance where it was unavailing; he secured the entrance of the harbour and all the landing-places by sinking old ships and other impediments in them, and he placed five large vessels, filled with archers and crossbow-men, at the mouth of the harbour. A numerous army, headed by himself, and gay with banners, covered the shore to oppose a landing; but the undaunted king of England and his valiant knights got into their boats, and pushed off for the shore. Richard himself was the first to jump on the land and charge the

Grecian crossbow-men; he seized and mounted a paltry steed, whose stirrups were cords, and, followed by his knights, pursued the Greeks, who fled almost without resistance; and ever and anon he called on the emperor to stop and engage him in single combat. The town opened its gates to the victors, and the first care of the lion-hearted monarch was to provide suitable accommodations for his royal sister and her fair companion.

The king passed the night in a tent outside of the city, and in the morning, when the horses of the knights had been landed, without giving them time to recover themselves, he rode with fifty knights to the camp of the Greeks, who were but two miles distant, challenging them to come forth and fight again. It was in vain that some of his knights reminded him of the number of the foes. Followed by his brave companions he rushed amidst them; the Greeks, whose hearts were not in the cause they fought for, turned and fled. The emperor was borne to the ground by the lance of the king of England, and mounting another horse he fled to the mountains. The rich and well-supplied camp became the prize of the English knights. The emperor, after some more unsuccessful efforts, shut himself up in Nicosia. Richard caused a herald to proclaim security to those who would submit to him, and several of the principal Cypriots gladly took the oath of allegiance.

The king of England was meanwhile indefatigable in his exertions for the security of his army. Observing one day three ships making for the island from the East, he himself mounted a boat and boarded them. To his surprise he found there the king of Jerusalem, the princes of Antioch and Tripolis, the master of the Hospital, and several distinguished Syrian barons, who were come to seek his protection against the king of France. Richard prepared for them a splendid entertainment, made his brother monarch a rich present, and on the following day, in the presence of his distinguished guests, he solemnized his marriage with the princess Berengaria, who was crowned by the hands of the bishop of Evreux, several other prelates assisting. The joy of the king was further augmented by the arrival of the remainder of his scattered fleet, and with the Cyprian ships which he had

taken he now reckoned in his navy a hundred ships of war, beside transports.

The emperor Isaac, fearful of losing all, was now anxious for peace, and at the request of the master of the Hospital Richard agreed to an interview, to take place at a short distance from Limasol. The king of England proceeded with great pomp to the place of conference. He rode a large handsome Spanish horse, his reins were adorned with gold, a housing of green embroidered with gold covered his saddle, on the back of which were two small golden lions, with their forepaws raised in attitude to fight. The tunic of the king was of rose-coloured velvet, his mantle was striped with silver half-moons, between which were scattered numerous golden suns, his hat was of scarlet cloth, embroidered with figures of beasts and birds in gold, his spurs and the hilt of his sword were of gold, the sheath of his sword was covered with silver, and it hung from a silken belt. In his right hand he held the royal sceptre.

At this conference peace was granted to the emperor, on his engaging to make good the losses of the pilgrims, and to aid in the recovery of the Holy Land. Richard, on his return to Limasol, sent to him his own tent and its furniture, and all the other tents which had been taken in the Grecian camp. But that very night Isaac, persuaded by one of his followers that Richard meant not fairly with him, but would that night fall on him and lay him in irons, mounted his famous brown horse and fled to Famagosta. Richard, on learning his flight, proclaimed him a perjured violator of treaties. He determined to pursue him and give him no rest, and dividing his ships into two parts he took the command of one division himself, committing the other to Robert of Turneham. They sailed round the island in opposite directions to prevent his escape, while the land army, under the command of the king of Jerusalem, advanced against Famagosta. But Isaac, fearing to stand a siege, fled to the mountains, and the city joyfully opened her gates. As the English army was on its march thence to Nicosia he fell on it from an ambush, and shot two poisoned arrows at King Richard, and he was indebted to the swiftness of his brown horse for the escape from the lance of the English king.



Nicosia also cheerfully submitted, and Richard made the people cut off their beards as a token of their change of master. Several strong castles, in one of which was the only daughter and the treasure of Isaac, were taken. All the tyrant's subjects deserted him, and he at last adopted the resolution of coming to the camp of the king of England and throwing himself on his mercy. He accordingly sought the presence of Richard on the Friday before Whit-Sunday. He was clad in mourning, and his only request was not to be laid in iron fetters. Richard received him with courtesy, gave him a seat near himself, and indulged him with the presence of his daughter; and the chains in which he was afterwards placed were of silver. He then was sent a prisoner to Tripolis, and his daughter was placed under the care of the young queen.

Master of the isle of Cyprus, Richard now set about regulating it. He granted the Cypriots one-half of their lands on the terms on which they had held them in the time of the emperor Manuel; the half which they surrendered was laid out in fiefs for the knights who were to defend the country. The government was committed to Richard of Canville and Robert of Turneham, with orders to keep the army, while in Syria, well supplied with provisions. On the Wednesday after Whitsuntide, the king and his army embarked at Famagosta and made sail for Ptolemaïs.

#### SIEGE OF TYRE.

**I**T is now time that we should return to the Holy Land, and take a view of what had occurred there during the time that Europe was making preparations to relieve it.

Almost all the towns of the coast had submitted to Saladin, and he was preparing to lay siege to Tyre, when Conrad, son to William marquis of Montferrat, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of Tiberias, arrived in the East. Conrad had fought, not without reputation, in the wars of the emperor Frederic in Italy. At the invitation of the emperor, Isaac Angelus, he visited Constantinople, where he espoused Theodora, the sister of that monarch, whom he aided to overcome the rebel Bardas, and he then pursued his voyage to Syria. It was evening

when he came to the road of Ptolemaïs ; the silence which reigned in the harbour, where the approach of a ship with pilgrims was wont to be hailed with shouts of joy, excited his surprise, which was augmented by no sound of bells calling to devotion reaching his ears ; and the banners of Saladin, which he could discern on the towers in the beams of the setting sun, convinced him that Ptolemaïs was no longer in the hands of the Christians. Some Saracen ships which he spoke confirmed his conjectures ; but an adverse wind prohibited his departure, and he entered into a sham negotiation with the governor, Malek-el-Afdal, a son of Saladin, till the wind changed and enabled him to make sail for Tyre.

The arrival of the marquis Conrad was hailed with joy by the citizens, whose governor and Raynald of Tripolis were on the point of making a surrender of the town to Saladin, and the chief command was immediately given to him. He forthwith directed his attention to the repairing and strengthening of the fortifications, and he cut a deep trench across the mole which joins the island to the shore. On the 2nd of November, 1187, bodies of the Moslem troops began to approach the town, and on the eighth day of the following month the sultan opened the operations of the siege in person. No day passed on which the Christians did not make two or three sallies against the besiegers. In these exploits the attention of the Saracens was chiefly attracted by a tall and powerful Spanish knight, who was mounted on a large war-horse ; his arms were green (whence they styled him the Green knight), his crest was the branching antlers of a stag, and an iron chain was fastened to his helmet. His example excited others to valour ; everywhere he turned he carried destruction, and Saladin himself viewed his prowess with complacency.

The sultan, seeing the resolution of the Syrian knights, had recourse to negotiation. He offered Conrad a large quantity of gold, and the liberty of his father, if he would surrender the town. But the undaunted marquis replied that he would not give the smallest stone in the town for his father, and that he would esteem it a blessing if his old sire, who was no longer capable of any valiant deed, were to die a martyr, and thus purge away the guilt of

his sins. It is even said that when Saladin had caused the old marquis to be brought from Damascus and fastened to a stake, in the place against which the machines of the besieged were chiefly directed, the marquis, to prove to the sultan the truth of his words, turned a machine against his own father.

Saladin, perceiving that the town was only to be reduced by a regular siege, ordered ships from Egypt and the ports of Syria to come to attack it on the sea-side; he built several military machines, and he called the troops of Aleppo to his standard. Conrad, on his side, adopted every means of defence and of annoyance. Among other devices he constructed some vessels covered with strong leather, named Barbotes, which were so light that they could run close to the shore, and the crossbowyers who were in them shot out through apertures at the Saracens, and did them much injury. They were also so formidable to the Saracen ships, that none of them ventured to approach the harbour.

By the following stratagem Conrad contrived to get some large ships, of which he was much in want. The son of an emir in the camp of Saladin had, on account of some quarrel with his father, deserted to the Christians, and embraced their creed. Conrad had a letter in Arabic, purporting to be from this young man to Saladin, shot with an arrow into the camp of the sultan. In this it was pretended that he had only deserted to act as a spy, and it informed the sultan that the Christians were meditating flight, as the sultan would see by the noise and tumult in the harbour on a certain night. Saladin was deceived, and on the appointed night he ordered his fleet to cruise before the harbour. Conrad closed the barbicans to prevent any one from going out to fight, and he assembled the people in arms about the harbour, where they made a great noise all through the night. In the morning all was still, the Saracen ships came to the mouth of the harbour, and as they found the chain down, five of their galleys, one of which was the admiral's, ventured in. Immediately the chain was drawn, the galleys were captured, and all on board slaughtered. The marquis, manning these five vessels and two of his own, attacked and dispersed the remainder of the fleet, and re-

turned in time to drive off the Turks who had attempted to enter the town by escalade during his absence. As the winter was now far advanced, Saladin, with the advice of his emirs, raised the siege and returned to Ptolemais, after burning such of his machines as could not be removed.

#### PROGRESS OF THE ARMS OF SALADIN.

**I**N the month of June, 1188, Saladin, having visited all the holy places of Jerusalem, prepared to renew his operations against the Christians. At the same time the Sicilian admiral Margaritus, the king of the sea, as he was called, brought his fleet, by order of King William of Sicily, to the coast of Syria, and entered the port of Tyre. The marquis Conrad not only advised him to go to the aid of Tripolis, but sent thither himself a part of the troops of Tyre. Among those who went was the Green Knight. Saladin, it is said, observing him cutting down the Turks in his usual manner, invited him to approach him; the knight relying on the honour of the sultan complied with the invitation, and Saladin offered him abundance of money, jewels, horses, and land, if he would renounce his faith and combat for Islâm. "That be far from me," said he, "that in this Holy Land, I who am come to do the heathen, with the help of God, as much scathe as is in me to do, should join with them to confirm the opprobrious slavery of the Christians." So saying he left the tent.

On the 1st of July the sultan, having been joined by the troops which he had dismissed in the winter, set forth from the Castle of the Khoords, where had encamped with his army in three divisions, to attack the possessions of the Christians in the territory of Antioch. Towns and castles submitted as he approached them, but some by their show of determined resistance induced the sultan, who was not of a persevering character in his military operations, to retire, others were taken by storm and their garrisons treated with humanity. The banner of the lord of Syria now floated on most of the strong places of the principality of Antioch, and he was expected soon to lay siege to that city, when the urgency of the greater part of his troops for their dismissal to keep the Rama-



dan, and a false idea of the strength of the town, induced him to lend a willing ear to the proposals of a truce made by Boemond, and he returned by the way of Baalbek to Damascus.

Shortly after his return in the month of Ramadan, and during the autumnal rains, the active sultan laid siege in person to Safed in Galilee, a castle belonging to the Templars. During this siege Saladin passed the entire of a rainy and tempestuous night superintending the planting of five besieging engines; and when he said to his secretary and biographer the *cadi* Boha-ed-deen (*Beauty of Religion*), "Let us not go to rest till these five machines are completed," the pious Mussulman reminded him for his consolation of the word of the prophet, that the fire of hell avails not against the eye which wakes in the service of God and the eye which weeps in the fear of God. Safed speedily submitted. He then led his troops against Cowkab (*the Star*), a castle seated on a lofty precipitous mountain near Tiberias, and, notwithstanding the increasing violence of the rains and storms, reduced it to a composition. After keeping the fast in Jerusalem, and visiting and inspecting the cities of the coast, the sultan returned to Damascus. In the month of April (1189), he led the Turkish troops who had returned to his standard toward Paneas, and laid siege to the castle of Shakeef Arnoon, or Belfort. While he was urging on his operations, he received the joyful intelligence of the surrender of Montroyal, which completely opened the communication between Damascus and Egypt; and shortly afterwards Raynald of Sidon, the castellan of Belfort, came out into his camp, and offered to surrender, provided the sultan would grant him a delay of three months, to enable him to get his wife and children who were at Tyre out of the hands of the Christians, and grant him as much land in the territory of Damascus as would suffice for his maintenance. Boha-ed-deen assures us that Saladin took great delight in the society of Raynald, who was well acquainted with the language and history of Arabia, and often invited him to his table.

## SIEGE OF ACRE.

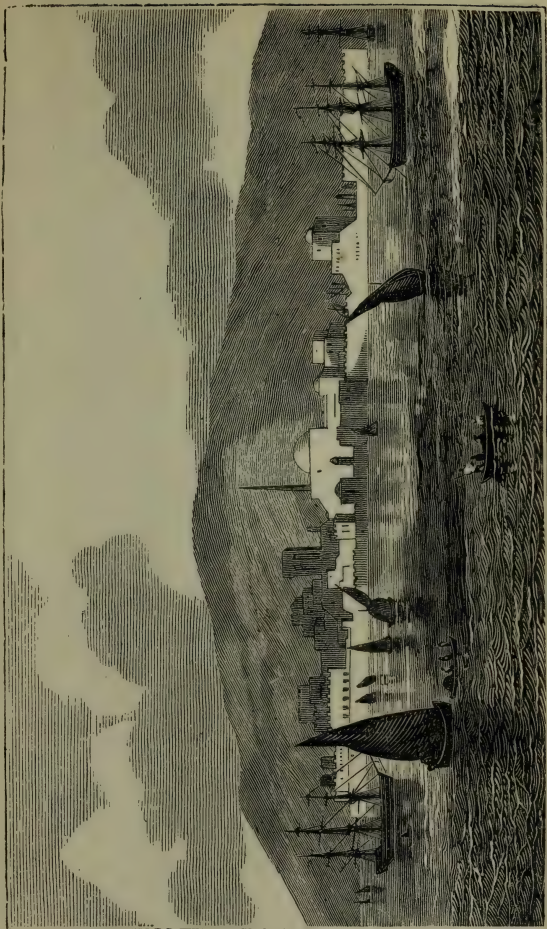
WHILE Saladin was thus engaged, the Christians began to regain some hope and confidence: King Guy and his fellow-captives, having been at length restored to liberty, in May, 1188, after taking a solemn oath never to bear arms against the sultan, and to quit the East as speedily as possible. From the obligation of this oath however they were relieved as usual by the clergy, and the king, who had joined Queen Sibylla at Tripolis, formed a centre around which all those who had returned from captivity, or had retired from the castles which had surrendered to Saladin, assembled. Many valiant pilgrims from the West also joined them; and the king, finding himself at the head of a respectable force, resolved to set about re-establishing his authority in the places which still remained to the Christians. Accompanied by the queen, he appeared before Tyre, and demanded admittance. Conrad refused compliance, deeming that his defence of the town had entitled him to the sovereignty, and he closed the gates and summoned his people to arms, to repel, if needful, force with force; and the king, though the Pisans who owned one quarter of the town declared for him, was obliged to retire.

In the present state of his affairs the king saw that it was necessary to make some bold attempt to check the progress of the sultan, and he formed the daring resolution of laying siege to Ptolemaïs, one of the strongest cities of the coast, whose inhabitants were said to be the quadruple in number of the forces which he could bring against it. With but seven hundred knights and nine thousand foot-men, in the month of August, 1189, he encamped on the east side of that city, while the Pisan fleet cast anchor before it.

The city of Ptolemaïs, or St. John d'Acre, the ancient Acc'o, called by the Arabs 'Acca, lies on the northern side of the entrance of an inlet of the sea which runs into the land for a distance of about five miles. To the east extends a rich and fertile plain, bounded on the north by the mountains of Phœnicia, on the east by those of Galilee, and on the south by the sea and Mount Carmel. Several streams flow through this plain, and the river Be-

lus, once so celebrated for its sands, which were employed in the manufacture of glass, empties itself at the head of the bay of Ptolemaïs. The city was surrounded by a strong double wall, thick beset with towers, and encompassed by a deep ditch. The tower at the north-east point was named the Accursed, and the crusaders derived its name from a tradition which said that the money for which Judas sold his Lord had been struck in it. Two strong towers guarded the entrance of that part of the bay which formed the haven. A long hill named Turon stretched to the east of the town, on which the Christians placed their camp; and parallel to it, to the north, lay another hill, also adapted for encampment, called Ayadéah or Mahumería. Several other eminences rose on the plain, affording strong positions for armies; but the exhalations arising from the marshes formed by the overflowing of the rivers during the rains rendered a long abode on the plain of Acre injurious to health.

Saladin, who was at Belfort when the news of the enterprise of the Christians reached him, resolved to lose no time in advancing to the relief of so important a town, and he immediately put his army in motion. The Christians, on the third day after their arrival, being deficient in military machines, boldly attempted to take the town by escalade. Under covert of their shields they advanced to the wall and applied their ladders, but, as they were in the act of ascending they were terrified by the intelligence of the approach of the army of Saladin. They returned without delay to their camp, and then learned to their mortification that it was only some horsemen belonging to the advance guard that had been seen. But the opportunity of surprising the town was irrevocably gone, for shortly afterwards the sultan's host appeared and took its position at the foot of the hill of Keisan, where the plain commences, with its right wing resting on the hill of Ayadéah, thus completely enclosing the Christian army. But as the sea was open they did not want for provisions, and their numbers were soon augmented by twelve thousand valiant pilgrims from Denmark and Friesland, who landed when they saw the Christian banners before Acre. Several other bands of pilgrims gradually arrived and added to the strength of the Christian army.



View of Acre.





After fourteen days spent in indecisive warfare, Saladin resolved on a general action. On a Friday (September 13), the favourite day of the Moslems for giving battle, his troops descended into the plain between the parallel hills, and advanced to the attack. The Christians maintained their position manfully. On the following day Saladin succeeded in effecting an entrance into the city and strengthening the garrison, and he then led his army back to its former position, in hopes of drawing the Christians down into the plain.

The Christians and Moslems, though engaged in daily conflict, conducted themselves with a degree of courtesy and honour toward each other which had not prevailed in the preceding wars. According to Boha-ed-deen, who was present, the combatants would frequently, when weary, by mutual consent stop to rest for an hour or longer, during which time they danced, sang, conversed, and played divers games together, till the voice of their leaders again summoned them to arms. On one of these days, he says, the combatants cried to each other, "Why should we men be fighting without cease, and why should not the boys take their share? Come, let two boys on each side engage each other." Two boys were then brought from the town and matched with two Christian boys, and they fought till one of the little Moslems threw down and captured his opponent; the Christians applauded the victor, and ransomed the captive for two gold pieces.

As the rainy season was now approaching, Guy de Lusignan resolved to give battle to the sultan. The Christian army left their camp (Oct. 4) and descended into the plain; the infantry, armed with long and cross-bows, with helmets, and corslets, and strong plaited linen garments, advanced the first; then came the knights, with glittering arms and fluttering pennons, so full of confidence that a knight cried out, "What power is able to withstand us? Even if God should not aid us, let him only not assist the Saracens, and the victory is ours." The army was disposed in four divisions; the first, composed of French and the Hospitallers, was led by the king in person, before whom four men bore a New Testament covered with silk; the marquis Conrad and the archbishop of Ravenna led the second; the third, composed of Pisans and Ger-

mans, was led by Lewis, landgraf of Thuringia, one of the lately-arrived pilgrims; the Templars, with some German and Catalonian pilgrims, formed the fourth; and the king's brother, Godfrey de Lusignan, remained to protect the camp; the right wing extended to the river Belus, the left wing to the sea.

When the Christian army was seen in motion, the heralds went through the camp of the Moslems, crying, "Come on, for Islâm, ye armies of the worshipers of the only God," and the Mohammedan warriors descended in three divisions from their camp. The sultan took his place in the centre division, which was commanded by the Fakee Issa; his son Malek-el-Afdal, with the emirs of Mosul, Diarbekr, Hama, and other places, formed, with their troops, the right wing, stretching to the sea; the left wing was composed chiefly of Khoords and the Asadian\* Mamlooks.

At the ninth hour of the morning the fight began. The infantry of the Christians when near the enemy opened to allow the cavalry to charge, and then followed with nearly equal velocity; in despite of the efforts of Saladin, the Mussulman troops gave way, the right wing was thrown into confusion, and a part of it fled before the vigorous attacks of the Templars and their companions; but the left wing stood its ground firmly, and the garrison made a sally from the town. Saladin re-assembled the fugitives, and fell on the rear of the Templars and their victorious comrades, as they were returning from the pursuit; the master of the Temple was taken prisoner, and his knights put to flight: the Germans inconsiderately pursuing a runaway horse, the rest of the army thought that they fled; the confusion was augmented every moment; several valiant knights fell; the marquis Conrad owed his life to the valour and generosity of the king; the prompt aid of Godfrey of Lusignan alone prevented the total destruction of the army. The Christians, whose loss was great, had the mortification to reflect that their own imprudence had deprived them of a victory of which they had been certain, and to behold their dead collected in waggons by

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\* So named from the brave Asad-ed-deen Sheerkoo, Saladin's uncle, who had been their commander.

the order of Saladin, and cast into the river Belus.\* Among their captives the Turks were astonished to find three females, who had fought in armour on horseback. The master of the Temple was, to the great grief of the Christians, put to death, as a breaker of his word, by Saladin, who did not recognize the dispensing power claimed by the Church.

But the hopes of the Christians were revived, and their numbers augmented by the arrival of new bodies of pilgrims from France, Italy, and Denmark, and they now were enabled to invest those parts of the town which had been hitherto free; they also secured their camp on the hill of Turon by a rampart, and by a ditch extending to the sea at either end, thus cutting off the town from the Moslem army. Saladin was meantime greatly disturbed by the intelligence he received of the approach of the emperor Frederic, and his army suffered from the air now infected by the effluvia of the decomposing bodies of the slain Christians; he therefore transferred his camp to the heights of Kharoobah, whence he sent envoys to summon to his aid the princes beyond the Euphrates, and to call on the khaleefeh of Bagdad, and he caused a fleet to be fitted out in the ports of Egypt. The people of Ptolemaïs, despairing of relief, offered to surrender, on condition of free egress with their movable property; but the confidence of the Christians, though they also were suffering from the state of the atmosphere, was so great that they refused them any terms; a circumstance which they had reason to regret, when shortly afterwards the Egyptian fleet appeared, drove off the Christian ships, and captured one, whose crew the people of Ptolemaïs hung from gibbets on the walls. As winter was now beginning, the rains, which rendered the plain a marsh, prevented any conflicts between the armies; the marquis Conrad returned therefore to Tyre with his men, and Saladin dismissed the greater part of his troops till the spring.

#### PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.

WHEN spring commenced (1190) the marquis Conrad returned, defeating on his way the Egyptian fleet,

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\* Boha-ed-deen estimates the loss of the Christians at seven thousand, Abou-'l-Faraj at two thousand, Vinesauf at fifteen hundred.



and taking some of their ships, on whose crews the Christians took vengeance for the conduct of the people of Ptolemais, by giving them into the hands of the women, who dragged them along by the hair, and then cut their throats with their knives. These mutual cruelties put an end to the courtesy and chivalrous feeling which had hitherto prevailed. Saladin now quitting Kharoobah approached the Christian camp, which an Arabian writer describes as inaccessible even to the birds. His ancient troops had rejoined his standard, and he had assurance of speedy aid from the princes to whom he had written.

The Christians had constructed three huge wooden towers, one of which was large enough to contain five hundred men, covered on one side with hides steeped in vinegar, and with net-work of rope. Seen from the camp of Saladin they towered above the walls of the town like mountains, and they excited the greatest apprehensions in the minds of the beholders. Saladin was beyond measure anxious to destroy these formidable machines, and he committed the task to the naphtha-casters, who had been sent to him by the khaleefeh; but these failing, a smith of Damascus undertook to destroy them; he entered the town, and while Saladin by a feigned attack drew away the attention of the Christians he set them on fire. The joyful sight was hailed by the acclamations of the Moslems; but Saladin was not a little disturbed by learning that the besiegers had nearly succeeded in filling up the ditches of the town.

The army of Saladin was swelled each day by the arrival of the troops of his allies, to whose commanders he testified all possible respect, and whom, by leading them as they came in review before the Christian camp, he accustomed to the sight of the enemy whom they were to combat, and at the same time displayed his strength to the Christians. On the eve of Pentecost he commenced a general attack on their fortified camp, which was kept up incessantly during eight days, till at last the infidel host were obliged to retire, leaving numbers of their dead around the trenches and ramparts. Each army now abstained from hostilities; the sultan carried on his communications with the town by means of carrier-pigeons, and small vessels of various kinds stole into the harbour with supplies.

On account of the great superiority of numbers on the side of the Moslems, the Christian princes were resolved to avoid an action; but the people soon began to grow impatient, and, as in the first crusade, to accuse their leaders of doing the Lord's work negligently. They were for some time restrained, though with difficulty, by the knights; but when they heard that Saladin had sent a part of his forces northwards, they would be no longer kept back, and at noon on St. James's day (July 25) they sallied forth in a tumultuous manner, without leaders, to assail the sultan's camp. They made their attack on the right wing, which was unprepared to receive them, seized the camp of Malek-el-Adel, and regardless of danger laid aside their arms, and sat down to feast on the meats and drink they found there. Malek-el-Adel, on discovering the truth, fell on them, slaughtered them, and put them to flight. Four thousand was the loss of the Christians on this day, and the garrison of Ptolemaïs sallying during the confusion fell on their camp, burned several tents, and carried off a large quantity of booty. The Moslems on this occasion lost but ten men.

Pilgrims of rank and eminence now arrived daily in the Christian camp; the counts of Troyes and Blois, and other French nobles and knights; the archbishop of Besançon, and the bishops of Blois and Toul; the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Salisbury, and several English and Norman barons and knights; Leopold the Virtuous, duke of Austria, the bishops of Ostia and Asti, in Italy, with bands of pilgrims from all these countries, gladly disembarked on the shores of the Holy Land. Some ships fell into the hands of the Saracens, whose vessels displayed crosses and other badges of the crusaders, and who even spoke their language, and by these means also succeeded in carrying supplies into the town. One Saracen ship is even said, for the sake of surer deception, to have gotten pigs (animals odious to Moslems) on board.

The glad tidings of the death of the emperor Frederic now enabled Saladin to recall the troops which he had sent to oppose him, and thus to concentrate his strength, while the arrival of the French increased the discord which already prevailed in the Christian camp, on account

of the defeat sustained in the preceding autumn, the blame of which was thrown on each other by the French and Germans. The former insisting that the chief command should be given to the count of Troyes, the landgraf of Thuringia, who had hitherto chiefly exercised that office, left the camp to return home on account of his ill-health, and he died the following October at Cyprus. But the German party was shortly afterwards strengthened by the arrival of the duke of Suabia with five thousand men, the feeble remnant of his father's army. It had been the anxious wish of the king that he should remain at Antioch, and occupy the attention of a part of Saladin's forces; but urged by his own desire, or, as was the report in the camp, by the representations of the marquis Conrad, who hoped for his aid in the furtherance of his private views, and who was even said to have received sixty thousand gold pieces from Saladin, for drawing the duke away from Antioch, he marched to Tripolis, and there embarked his men, who, after encountering some perils, arrived in the camp before Ptolemaïs.

In a council of war held by Saladin, when he had learned from spies and deserters that it was the intention of the Christians to attack him in the night, it was resolved to fall back to Kharoobah, leaving a select body of men on the hill of Ayadéah, to keep up the communication with the town. The Christians, foiled in that project, turned all their efforts to the assault of the town: engines of offence and defence were constructed at a great expense, the battering rams of the count of Troyes and the bishop of Besançon, and the *cat* and the *mouse* of the duke of Suabia, chiefly excited admiration; but they were all speedily the prey of the Greek fire launched against them by the besieged. The greatest valour and heroism was displayed by individuals, but the want of harmony among the leaders caused every operation to fail.

Among the various bold attempts of the Christians at this time, none was so worthy of attention as that of the Pisans and other mariners, on the fly-tower, which protected the entrance of the harbour. They raised on one of their vessels a wooden tower, and covered it and the ships with hides; in the tower were abundance of missiles, and the crews were well supplied with scaling ladders.

While a part of them occupied the arms of two thousand Turks, sent by Karacoosh, the governor of the town, to the defence of the tower, the rest had attacked it so vigorously that they had already applied their ladders to it, when the defenders, stimulated to new exertion by the prospect of danger, repelled them by hurling down enormous blocks of wood, and at last succeeded in making their Greek fire catch the tower; at the same time the wind blew back on their own ships the fire with which the assailants had hoped to burn the Saracen vessels in the harbour, and they were forced to retire with the loss of their tower and of three of their ships.

The Christians, who were entirely dependent on the sea for supplies, were often reduced to straits for provisions; but their courage remained still unimpaired. Saladin, who was suffering from sickness, gave them little disturbance, contenting himself with sending letters into the town by means of pigeons and divers, and occasional supplies of money and provisions by small vessels, which stole into the harbour. As the winter was now begun, the Christian princes resolved to make one decisive effort to drive off the sultan; and on the day after the feast of St. Martin (Nov. 12) the whole army set out, taking with them tents, provisions, and all that was needful, and leaving in the camp a sufficient force for its defence under the duke of Suabia, the count of Blois, and the archbishop of Canterbury. The bishop of Salisbury appeared clad in armour, among those who went to seek out the heathen. The knights rode in the centre of the host, strongly fenced in on either side by the dense masses of the infantry; and in the midst of them, to the astonishment of the infidels, who had as yet seen nothing of the kind, moved a carriage drawn by four mules, guarded by two hundred chosen knights, and displaying a standard lofty as a minaret, say the Arabs, from which hung a white banner adorned with red crosses.\* The sultan fell back to the hill of Keisan, and the crusaders captured at a lately sunk well a large supply of barley. Here they pitched their tents, and in the morning they moved up along the eastern bank of the stream which flows by

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\* This was a *carroccio* resembling those of the Italian republics. We do not recollect any other instance of a *carroccio* out of Italy.



Ptolemaïs, then crossed it, and marched along its western side. The Turkish army was drawn out, but refused the proffered combat. During three days the Christian army moved up and down the stream, the Turks still declining an action; at length they returned to their camp harassed by the missiles of the Turkish horse. On the night of the 23rd of November, Saladin, to animate his warriors and to take revenge on the Franks, placed a select body of horse in ambush on a hill by the Christian camp, north of the town, with directions to exhibit a few horsemen to the enemy. The stratagem succeeded. Two hundred knights incautiously sallied forth to chastise the insolence of the Turks, who fled before them; the other Turks darted from their concealment, and all the Latin knights were captured or slain. Saladin, who rode out to meet and congratulate the returning victors, treated the captive knights with the greatest courtesy; he presented them with dresses of honour, and assigned them tents near his own. Among them was a French knight of distinction, whom the sultan frequently invited to his own table; and observing that this knight, on account of the excessive cold, wore a fur dress, he bestowed similar dresses on the others, and he permitted them all before they were sent to Damascus to get clothes, and everything else they desired, from the Christian camp. The weather was now so severe that Saladin complied with the desires of his emirs, and allowed the chief part of the Turkish troops to return home.

The appearance presented by the Christian camp was that of a busy town; houses, booths, and tents rose on all sides; vendors of every commodity were to be found there; loose women were numerous, gaming and every excess in eating and drinking occupied the day, though every circumstance announced the speedy approach of famine. The pious archbishop of Canterbury, wearied and disgusted with the sight of such profligacy among those who professed to have girded on their swords in the cause of God, put up his fervent prayer to Heaven for a speedy release from misery; and his prayer was heard, for a fever came within fourteen days to his relief, and withdrew him from this earth ere the horrors of famine had commenced.

The ambition of the marquis Conrad was a source of great perplexity to the crusaders. His possession of Tyre, on which they were so dependent for supplies, gave him great power, and the king had already not only consented to renounce all his claims on that town, but promised to yield Sidon and Berytus to him whenever they should be regained. But Conrad aimed at depriving him of his crown; and as Queen Sibylla and her daughters were now dead, he maintained that the right of the succession had passed to the remaining daughter of Amalric, Isabel wife of Humphrey of Thoron; and that light-minded princess having at his instigation sought and obtained a divorce from Humphrey, under the pretext of her having been married before she was of sufficient age to give a legal consent, Conrad espoused her, and laid claim to the crown in her right, while King Guy maintained that he could not with justice be deprived of the crown which the deceased Queen Sibylla had placed on his head. The princes and knights were split into two parties, the French adhered to their countryman Guy, the Germans were inclined to the side of Conrad.

#### FAMINE IN THE CHRISTIAN CAMP.

THE marquis had gained many by the hopes of abundant supplies from Tyre, but in this he deceived their expectations, and famine soon began to commit its ordinary ravages in the Christian camp. The historians on this, as on other occasions, adopt the clear and intelligible method of exhibiting the degree of scarcity by noting the extravagant prices of the various articles of food. As much wheat as a man could carry with ease cost a hundred gold pieces, a hen twelve shillings, an egg or an apple six denarii. Two men, we are told, gave their last coin, a denarius of Anjou, for thirteen beans. On going to eat them when they got home, they found one of them unsound, and though the way was long, they went back with it, and by dint of entreaty got the seller to give them a sound one in exchange. Knights of birth and fame disdained not to steal bread from the bakers; one, who was caught in the fact, was given bound to the baker whom he had robbed; but while the baker and his people were otherwise engaged he made his escape, carrying with him

a loaf, which he shared with his friends. Many knights killed and ate their war-horses; numbers of the poor died, the charity of the bishop of Salisbury and some Italian prelates and English barons saved many from perishing. With winter the famine ended, the ships began to arrive with supplies; the first, a small vessel laden with wheat, arrived on a Saturday evening, and next day the price of that article had fallen so much, that the quantity which on Saturday had cost a hundred pieces of gold would fetch no more than four on the Sunday.

The famine had been attended with sickness, and two hundred pilgrims often died in a day. Its noblest victim was the gallant duke of Suabia, who expired on the 21st of January, 1191, deeply regretted by his mates in arms. To celebrate his funeral the camp was illuminated, each tent and hut displaying two or more lights, and the Mussulmans who viewed it from a distance deemed the Christian camp to be in a conflagration.

As on all occasions of privation and suffering in the holy wars, there were many who renounced their faith for food, and deserted to the camp of Saladin. Some were even base enough, though still retaining their faith, to propose to the sultan, if he would give them a ship, to seek out and capture Christian vessels, and to give him half the booty. Saladin, wishing to weaken the enemy, readily granted their desire; but when they appeared before him with their captives and a rich booty, the magnanimous sultan disdained to share in what was so nefariously acquired, and pious Moslems praised Allah who thus destroyed the infidels by the means of each other.

The far greater part of the pilgrims remained true to their vow, and suffered in patience, and it was at this time that a new military and religious order, that of the Teutonic knights, was added to those of the Temple and the Hospital. Their dress was a white mantle with a black cross; their vows were similar to those of the other order. The duke of Suabia displayed great zeal in its cause, and used his influence in its favour with his brother the emperor and the pope.

It was not without difficulty that Saladin was able to induce his auxiliaries from beyond the Euphrates to abide by his standard, and it was only by his assurance that he

was treating of peace with the Christians that they consented to remain. In the month of February, Malek-el-Adel by his orders changed the brave garrison of Ptolemaïs, who had acquired such well-deserved reputation by their defence of that town; but those sent in their place were neither so brave nor so numerous, and the new commanders did not equal their predecessors in skill or in zeal. The Christians were on their side equally weary of the war, and their ablest leaders were of opinion, that if the kings of France and England did not arrive by Easter the siege must be raised.

#### ARRIVAL OF THE KING OF FRANCE.

**A**T length, on the 13th of April, to the great joy of the Christians, who received him with all the marks of honour becoming one of the most potent monarchs of the West, King Philip arrived in the camp before Ptolemaïs. But they observed with pain that he was accompanied by no more than six ships, and their boasts of his power to the advanced posts of the Moslems, and others of the infidels with whom they were in the habit of conversing, were little borne out by the number of his army. Philip contributed also to increase the disunion among the crusaders, by taking the part of the marquis of Tyre against the king of Jerusalem, who forthwith sailed, as we have related, accompanied by his principal adherents, to seek the support of the king of England. The French monarch took his post by the Accursed tower, and constructed a few machines, which did at first some mischief, but were soon destroyed by the Greek fire of the besieged. The army was eager to be led against the town; but Philip, deeming it more judicious to wait till the king of England should have arrived, refused to comply with their desires.

#### ARRIVAL OF KING RICHARD.

**R**ICHARD, on leaving Cyprus with five-and-twenty ships, directed his course for Tyre, but by order of Conrad he was refused admittance into that city, and he spent a night in his tent without the walls. Next day he made sail for Ptolemaïs, and as he was between Sidon and Berytus he discerned at a distance a large three-masted vessel, apparently bound for that town. A galley was



despatched to hail her; the ship, which was becalmed, replied that she belonged to the king of France, and was conveying stores and arms from Antioch to the Christian camp. The English, seeing none of that monarch's people on board, were dubious of the truth of what they heard; and the king himself, on taking a nearer view of her, was quite convinced that no ship of her size and appearance could belong to the king of France. To another vessel, which afterwards questioned them, they said that they were Genoese, and bound for Tyre. An English seaman now offered to wager his head that they were heathens, and the king gave orders for the attack. The courage and skill with which the Moslems (for such they were) defended themselves, amazed the English seamen; from the lofty deck of their vessel they hurled the Greek fire on their assailants who were beneath, and their archers shot with greater effect from their elevation. By violent menaces, joined with promises, the king of England excited his dispirited men to persevere in the conflict. Some jumped into the sea and attempted to tie the rudder of the ship to prevent her sailing; others climbed up her sides, but they were quickly slain or driven back. The king, seeing he could not take, resolved to sink her, and he ordered his ships to run their iron beaks against her side. The Turks, when they saw there was no chance of escape, seized their axes, and aided to destroy her. Several cast themselves into the sea; of all the prisoners whom the English took, the ferocious king gave life to but five-and-thirty, who were emirs or engineers, all the rest were put to death. A large booty was saved and divided by the king among his men. The quantity of military stores on board of this vessel was very great, and the loss of her caused the greatest grief to Saladin, and utterly dejected the garrison of Ptolemaïs.

Two days afterwards (June 8th) the king of England landed at the camp before Ptolemaïs. His arrival diffused the utmost joy among the pilgrims, and his entry was a triumphal procession. The trumpets, drums, cymbals, flutes, and horns filled the air with their exulting notes; songs, and ballads of the deeds of the heroes of old, were sung by all the people; and when the night fell, an illumination of torches and wax-tapers spread over the

whole camp, and joyous banquets were celebrated in honour of the valiant Richard. The Moslems from their camp and town heard and saw these demonstrations of triumph with anxiety and dismay.

### THE ENGLISH CRUSADERS.

THE first army of crusaders which England sent forth being now landed under the command of their king, it may be gratifying to see the list of the nobles and knights of greatest note, who on this occasion

Bore the radiant red-cross shield,  
'Mid the bold peers of Salem's field.

And it will be interesting to observe what names among them still remain in the rolls of nobility or among our territorial aristocracy. For that purpose we subjoin the following catalogue of English crusaders.\*

We must previously observe, that the number of the English warriors is not given by the historians, but as the whole pilgrim army at Vezelay did not exceed one hundred thousand men, one-half of whom must have been subjects of the king of France, and as Richard was lord of Normandy, Anjou, Maine, Touraine, Poitou, and Guienne, the number of the English pilgrims could not have been more than twenty thousand or twenty-five thousand men.

#### RICHARD I.

Abelin, Nicholas de  
Agilon, Robert  
—— William de  
Albington, Philip de  
Albini, William de, 3rd E. of Arundel.  
Aleton, John  
Anselm, Chaplain to the King  
Apuldorfield, Henry de  
Apelfourd, William de  
Arceadeacon, Adam de  
Audley, William de  
Aula, Nicholas de  
Autreve, William de  
Badelismer, Raffe de  
Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury  
Balun, John de  
Bardolphe, Hugh and William  
Barkele  
Barnes, Raffe de  
Basemes, Godfraye de

Basset of Drayton, Ralph  
—— Symond  
—— Astell de  
Bassingborne, Waren de  
Boys  
Beauchamp, John de  
—— Walter de  
Beff, Gifford le  
Beices, Hameris  
Bethune, Baldwin de  
—— John de  
Beuchamp, John de  
Bevent, Adame  
Bigot, Earl of Norfolk  
Bikenor, John de  
Birmingham, William de  
Blanchmains, Robert E. of Leicester  
Bodiham, William de  
Bokesle  
Boliere, Baldwyn de

\* We extract it from the 'List of English Crusaders' so diligently collected by Mr. Wiffen, and prefixed to his translation of Tasso.

Bonet, Hamond de  
 Borgheise, Hubert de  
 Borgo  
 Borne, John de  
 Botone, Steven de  
 Boves, Hughe de  
 Bovile, William  
 Boun, John de  
 Breouse, Philip de  
 ——— William de  
 ——— Richard de  
 ——— Renald de  
 Bruce, Ingram de  
 Camoyes, John de  
 Camvill, Robert de  
 Camwell, Sir Richard de  
 Cantelow, John de  
 Carrington, Sir Michael, standard-  
 bearer to the King  
 Chamberlayne, William de  
 ——— Philyp de  
 Champayne, Robert de  
 Champernoun, Henry de  
 ——— John de  
 Chaworth, Thomas de  
 Cheney, Alexander de  
 Chenegin, Robert, or Roger de  
 Chevenam, Andrew de  
 Clinge, William de  
 Clyfford, Roger  
 Cobeham, of Roundell, Henry de  
 ——— John de  
 Cokefield, Robert  
 Cokyntone, Henry de  
 Colvile, Geffrey de  
 Corbet, Robert  
 Cornwale, Robert de  
 Cosinton, Stephen de  
 Covert, Roger de  
 Creon, Guy de  
 Crespigny, William de  
 Creye, Symon de  
 Criele, Robert, and Nicholas de  
 Cudham, Olyver, and Robert de  
 Dambesace, William  
 Daras, Cheselin de  
 Darcy, Norman  
 Daubeney, Ralph, Philip, and William  
 Despreux, William  
 Dinant, Robert de, and Oliver  
 Dotavile, Walter de  
 Dufford, Robert de  
 Eslynge, Raffe de  
 Estornham, Bartholomew  
 Estoteville, or Stuteville, Robert de  
 Eveby, Robert de  
 Fenkeham, William de  
 Feringes, Lucas de  
 Ferni, Philippe de  
 Ferrars, William, Earl of Derby  
 ——— Robert, Earl  
 Fitz-Allen, John de  
 ——— Henry  
 Fitz-Apuldorfield, Henry de  
 Fitz-Geffray  
 Fitz-Gerald, Warine de

Fitz-Gerald, Morris  
 Fitz-Humphrey, Walter  
 Fitz-John  
 Fitz-Lee, William  
 Fitz-Neil, Robert  
 Fitz-Parnell, Robert, fourth Earl of  
 Leicester  
 Fitz-Roger, John  
 Fitz-Walter, Robert, Lord  
 Fitz-Warren, Fowlke de  
 Flandres, Baldwyne de  
 ——— Constantine de  
 Fonche, Roger de  
 Fortibus, William de, E. of Albemarle.  
 Furnivall, Girard de  
 ——— Thomas de  
 Gatton, Hamon de  
 Genville, Geffrey  
 Gifford, Osberne de  
 ——— Walter  
 ——— Elys  
 Gyse, Auncell de  
 Glanvill, Ranulph de, Lord Chief Jus-  
 tice of England  
 Godfrey, brother of Henry III.  
 Gordun, Adam de  
 Gosehall, Ralph de  
 Gournay, Hugh de  
 Gras, Nicholas le  
 Gray, Reginald and Richard de  
 Grentemaisnil, William and Ivo de  
 Gyffard, Robert  
 Hacket, Ralph de  
 Hardres, Robert de  
 Hastinge, John and William de  
 Helyon, Walter de  
 Henry, William de  
 Herice, Henry de  
 Heringoe, William  
 Hise, Nicholas de la  
 Hornes, William de  
 Hengham, Robert de  
 Huntingfield, Pierce and Cael de  
 Hussy, Henry  
 Ichingham, William  
 Irie, Matthew de  
 Kent, Thomas de  
 Kyme, Philip de  
 Kyrketon, Ralph de  
 Laborne, William de  
 Lacy, Roger de  
 Lahaye, John de  
 Lake  
 Lamarc, John  
 Langley, Geffrey de  
 Lapole, Walter de  
 Laroche, Guy de  
 Leben, Nicholas de  
 Leborne, William  
 Legenne, William  
 Levelande, Raffe de  
 Lewkenor, Roger de  
 Linet, Robert  
 Lucenburth, William de  
 Lucy, Geffraye, or Godfrey de  
 Lucy, Emery de

Lyle, Gerard  
 — Robert  
 Lynnesey, Raffé de  
 Macwire, William de  
 Maili, Gyles de  
 Males, John  
 Malet, Robert  
 Malemeynes, Nicholas de  
 Malmaine, Henry de  
 Malo, Roger, King Richard's Vice-  
 Chancellor  
 Maltrevers, Walter de  
 Mandeville, Richard de  
 Mantell, William de  
 Manvers, John de  
 Mauvoisin, Henry de  
 Marconville, Raffé de  
 Marely, Jehane de  
 Marlet, Richard  
 Marmes, Thomas de  
 Marmion, William  
 — Phillipe  
 Marshall, John de  
 Maube, William  
 Meremone, Geoffrey  
 Mingee, Adam de  
 Moloun, Symone  
 Monhault, Adam de  
 Monnile, Benedick  
 Morston, Bartholomewe  
 Mortimer, Robert  
 Mountjoye, Esteven de  
 Mountforth, Peers de  
 Monvile, Gilbert de  
 Mowbray, Nigel de  
 Munceus, John de  
 Munchen, Stephen  
 Munchense, William de  
 Munforte, Robert or Roger  
 Musard, Raffé de  
 Muntein, Robert de  
 Muttans, Walter de  
 Nell, Raffé de  
 Neville, Hugh de  
 — Robert de  
 Neville, Lawrence  
 Neureford, William  
 Normanville, Raphe de  
 Northie, William de  
 Nunchans, Stephen de, brother to the  
 Bishop of Ely  
 Northwood, Richard de  
 Odingselle, William de  
 Okstede, Roland de  
 Oldeham, Thomas de  
 Ore, Nicholas de  
 — Richard de  
 Orleston, William de  
 Otigedene, Raffé de  
 Parke, Henry de  
 Pancevot, Grymbole de  
 Paynell, or Pagnell, William  
 — Thomas

Pecham, John de  
 Peche, Gilbert  
 — John  
 Peyfrer, William de  
 Pembryge, Henry  
 Penecester, Pynchester, or de Pens-  
 hurst, Estephyn  
 Percy, Henry de  
 — John de  
 — Everard de  
 Perot, Raffé  
 Pierrepont, Robert  
 — Symone  
 Pesone, Nicholas de  
 Peverell, Thomas de  
 Pigot, Henry, seneschal to Earl War-  
 ren and Surry  
 Pipard, Gilbert  
 Plokenet, Alen de  
 Poltimor, Lucas de  
 Poynge, Lucas de  
 Preston, William de  
 Quincy, Robert de, Earl of Leicester\*  
 Ralle, Henry de  
 Rochford, Ellis de  
 Rode, William de  
 Rome, Roger de  
 Romilly, Ralph  
 Roos, Robert de  
 St. Aubrey, Gilbert de  
 St. John, John de  
 St. Leger, William and Ralph de  
 St. Quintin, Robert de  
 St. Valerie, Bernard de  
 Sackville, Adam de  
 Sandair, Thomas de  
 Santaver, Hugh  
 Sautone, Bartholomew  
 Savage, Ralph de  
 Saye, William de  
 Scoveney, John de  
 Scotto, Robert de  
 Scrope, Robert, of Barton  
 Scrope, Walter  
 Sillingheld, John de  
 Seintmore, Laurence de  
 Sodan, Stephen de  
 Somerye, Robert and Simon de  
 Spencer, Hugh de  
 Staverton, John de  
 Stopham, Ralph de  
 Strange, John le  
 Sully  
 Talbot, Roger de  
 — Gerard  
 Tame, Richard  
 Tamworth, Gyles de  
 Tanquery, Bertram de  
 Tilmaston, Roger de  
 Traseme, Otho de  
 Tregoz, Henry and John  
 Tuithman, Alain de  
 Tupigen, Walter de

\* This is the third Earl of Leicester in this catalogue. There is probably some mistake.



Turkeville, Hugh  
 Tychesey, Thomas de  
 Valoynes, Walrois de  
 Vantore, John de  
 Vaux, John de  
 Vel, Robert de  
 Verdun, Bertram de  
 ——— Theobald de  
 Vesey, William de  
 Viene, Lucas de  
 Vile, Anselm de

Wake, Baldwin de  
 Waleis, Richard  
 Wanton, William de  
 Warburton, Thomas  
 Warde, Robert de  
 Wace, Roger le  
 Welles, Simon de  
 Wilton, Ralph de  
 Witefield, Robert de  
 Wodebith, Ralph de  
 Wotingby, Bartholomew de\*

### SIEGE OF PTOLEMAIS.

THE king of France, who had received his brother of England with all becoming honour on his arrival, was soon excited to jealousy by the superior consideration shown for his more munificent and splendid vassal. The pilgrims from Pisa placed themselves under the English monarch, whom they seemed to recognize as master of the Holy Land; the Genoese wished to do the same, but Richard declined accepting their oaths, as they were already bound to the king of France and the marquis of Tyre; but he wounded the vanity of Philip, by having proclamation made throughout the camp that any knight who stood in need of assistance should receive four gold pieces a month from his treasure, the more thrifty French king having allowed but three pieces. Many of Philip's foot-soldiers also passed over to the service of Richard, and the desertion was the cause of several of his machines being burned by the besieged. Though the king of England had fallen sick of the contagion which will prevailed, he carried on his operations against the town with vigour; the example of the English roused the other pilgrims to emulation, no day passed without an assault being made, and as fast as the besieged destroyed with their Greek fire the engines of the besiegers new ones were constructed. The garrison sounded their drums and cymbals as soon as the attack was made, and then Saladin led out his army and assailed the Christian camp, and the crusaders were frequently obliged to give over the assault of the town to return to the defence of their tents. As one day the king of France had led the army against the walls of the city, the Turkish army attacked the camp

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\* We do not hold ourselves accountable for any errors or omissions which may occur in this list. It does not, for example, contain the names of Richard and Stephen de Turnham, and others mentioned in these pages.

with great fury; Godfrey of Lusignan, who commanded there that day, employed his battle-axe with such vigour that his brother-warriors afterwards compared him with the Paladins Roland and Ogier the Dane; but in despite of his efforts the enemy pressed in, and the king of France was forced to draw off his forces from the assault, and to leave his machines a prey to the Greek fire. Of this failure he laid the blame on King Richard and the Pisans, who, he said, did not aid him as they had promised. A council of war was in consequence appointed, to whose directions both monarchs promised obedience, but neither adhered to his declaration.

The king of France, being recovered from the sickness into which he had fallen, renewed his operations against the town with vigour. Richard, who still lay sick, had on the arrival of the remainder of his ships various machines of great power constructed, and he employed them against the brave garrison of Ptolemaïs. Among the things brought for the siege in his ships, were huge stones fetched from Sicily, which did tremendous execution, one of them killing ten men at a time. The king of England promised one, two, and at last four pieces of gold to whoever would bring a stone from the wall of the town, and many lost their lives in the perilous attempt.

The ill-feeling between the rival monarchs was fostered by their having taken different sides in the contest between Guy and Conrad for the empty title of king of Jerusalem; and the whole Christian camp was split into two opposite factions. Godfrey of Lusignan publicly accused Conrad as a traitor against his sovereign lord, and pledged himself to prove the charge in single combat against him. Conrad therefore left the camp and returned home to Tyre; but the king of France, to whom he was become indispensable, induced him to come back, and then, probably at his suggestion, claimed, according to the tenor of the treaty of Vezelay, one-half of Richard's acquisition of Cyprus. Richard replied, that that treaty only referred to conquests made from the heathen; but he offered to divide the island with him, if Philip would give him half of the lands of the count of Flanders, and other vassals of the French crown who had died during the siege, and whose fiefs Philip had resumed. Philip is then

said to have given up his claim ; and it was agreed that the brethren of the Temple and the Hospital, and other knights of repute, should divide between the two monarchs any future acquisitions which they might make.

The king of England now resolved to seek the friendship of Saladin, and he sent an envoy to propose an interview with that prince. The sultan received the English ambassador with great honour, but declined the proposed meeting, on the ground of its being indecorous while they were at war with each other ; but he permitted his brother Malek-el-Adel to meet the English king in the plain before the two armies. On the appointed day Richard did not appear, prevented, as the Moslems heard, by the remonstrances of the other princes ; but in a few days another English envoy came, with an assurance that sickness alone had prevented King Richard from keeping his appointment. Various messages passed between the two monarchs, but nothing was effected, as Saladin was all along suspicious of the designs of Richard. He allowed however ice and fruits to be purchased in his camp for the king of England, and, according to the English writers, he himself sent fine pears of Damascus and other fruits to the kings both of France and England, and accepted their presents in return.

The siege was still prosecuted with vigour. The Christians had a secret friend in the town, whose name they never could learn, but who was probably of their own creed, and by means of billets attached to arrows he gave them intelligence of all the proceedings of the enemy, so that whenever Saladin made an attack on their camp he found them prepared to receive him. Many also of the garrison deserted and made a temporary renunciation of their faith ; several of the emirs secretly left the town and concealed themselves in the sultan's camp. Saladin at length sent orders to the garrison to leave the town with all that they could take with them, and force their way along the sea-coast, while he made an attack on the Christian camp. A night was spent in making preparations, but in the morning, recognizing the impossibility of success, the garrison abstained from the attempt.

On the 11th June the last attempt was made to storm the town. While the miners and others employed by

the king of England had ceased from their work for their mid-day meal, the English esquires, led by the bishop of Salisbury, the earl of Leicester, and some other lords, and joined by the Pisans, mounted the ruins of a tower which had been thrown down; the Turkish sentinels raised the alarm, the invaders were promptly assailed by the formidable Greek fire, and driven off with loss; the remainder of the Christian army, who were quietly eating their meal, did not stir to come to their assistance.

#### SURRENDER OF PTOLEMAIS.

**I**MMEDIATELY after this assault Kara-koosh and Seif-ed-deen Ali Meshtob, the two commandants of the town, came out to treat of a surrender. They had twice already offered to yield the town on condition of free egress for the garrison. "We have," said Seif-ed-deen to the king of France,—“we have taken several towns from you, and when your people sued for peace and a treaty we have complied with their desire, and shown them all honour, and let them depart in peace. Wherefore assure us our lives on thy royal word, and we will give the town up to you.” This appeal to their sense of justice was without effect; nothing but unconditional surrender would content the confederate monarchs, and they further insisted on the restoration of the true cross, the release of all Christian prisoners, and the giving up all the lands and towns which the Christians possessed at the time of the second crusade. “Well then,” cried Seif-ed-deen, “we will not give you the town till all of us are fallen, and not a man of us will die till he has slain fifty of the chief of you.” The negotiation was shortly afterwards resumed; Philip and the French knights were for accepting the surrender on the terms offered, but Richard was inflexible, and on the 12th July the emirs were obliged to submit to the following hard conditions—a free passage for the persons, but all the goods and arms to be left behind; the delivery of the true cross by Saladin, the payment of two hundred thousand byzants, and the liberation of two hundred knights and two thousand five hundred other Christian captives; the emirs and a part of the garrison to remain as hostages for the fulfilment of these terms by the sultan. Strict



orders were then given, that no Christian should either by word or act give any offence to the Turks. Saladin on receiving a letter informing him of this treaty was greatly disturbed, and in the council of his emirs it was resolved not to ratify a deed which would deprive Islâm of one of his strongest towns, and which contained the greater part of the military stores of his kingdom. But the view of the banners of the kings of the west, waving on the turrets of the great mosk and on the houses of the Templars and the Hospitallers, convinced them that it was now too late to resolve.

In the afternoon of the day on which the treaty was concluded the Turkish garrison marched out with their wives and children. Though disarmed their mien was that of conquerors rather than of vanquished men; the Christians could not refrain from admiring the beauty of their countenances and the firmness of mind which their features testified; a writer (Vinisauf) who was present declares that this people "were admirable for their deserts in military virtues, and every kind of worthiness," and he adds, "If they had been distinguished by a true faith, there had not been, I speak as a man, better than they." Saladin, as both himself and his emirs esteemed it an imperative duty to free captive Moslems, sent immediately to Damascus to have the required numbers of Christians released, and he made arrangements for raising, as speedily as possible, the money which he was to pay. As there was no use in continuing in his present position, he retired with his army to provide for the defence of Jerusalem. Ere the sultan departed many courtesies passed between him and the two Western monarchs, and the king of England sent him a present of falcons, and hounds of various kinds, for which he made a suitable return.

#### THE KINGS IN PTOLEMAIS.

PTOLEMAIS was taken possession of by some select troops of the kings of France and England, and entrance was refused to the other pilgrims. The two monarchs divided the town, the booty, and the hostages between themselves. The king of France took up his abode in the house of the Templars, the king of England

fixed his residence in the citadel. The churches which had been desecrated by the heathen were purified, and on the 16th July mass was celebrated in them by the papal legate, and the bishops who were in the Christian army.

The proceedings of the two kings were far from giving satisfaction to the remainder of the pilgrims. They could not discern the justice of a regulation by which they who had for the space of two years endured all the toils and the dangers of a siege, in which nearly two hundred thousand warriors had fallen, should be excluded from all share in the advantages, which were appropriated by the French and English, who were but just arrived. Their resentment was heightened by the insolence of the English, who drove off with blows such of them as attempted to enter the town; and in an assembly of the princes it was resolved to signify to the two kings that the other pilgrims would take no part in any further operations against the heathen if they were not given a fair portion of the plunder of Ptolemaïs, to make good the losses which they had sustained. The kings promised compliance; but they did not keep their word, and many knights were obliged to sell their arms and return home.

Another party, who considered themselves injured, were the former Christian inhabitants, who saw the houses and grounds which had been theirs in the hands of the French and English, who answered their claims by replying that no one knew whether they were just or not, and that all that had been taken from the Saracens belonged to those whose valour had won it. King Philip however warmly took the side of the complainants, and he declared in the council that he was not come to the East to gain houses and lands, but to recover the country for the Christians, and that he never would be a party to the keeping out of their property those who had been deprived of it by the infidels. It was therefore determined that such as could prove their title should be put in possession of their property, on the condition of their entertaining the stranger-knights during their stay at Ptolemaïs.

Now that the crown of Jerusalem seemed likely to be of some value, the dispute was renewed between Guy

and the marquis of Tyre. Conrad, after having made every effort to gain the goodwill of King Richard, came forward in the council held on the 27th July, at which, besides the kings, all the temporal and spiritual princes of the army were present, and demanded the crown in right of his wife. Guy on his side, asserted that he had done nothing to forfeit it. After the friends of either party had brought forward their arguments, the competitors agreed to leave it to the decision of the two kings, and the prelates, counts, and barons of the pilgrim-army; and on the following day, when the rivals had sworn to abide by the decision of the judges, it was awarded, that Guy should retain the kingdom during his life, but that on his death it should go to the marquis Conrad and his wife Isabel, or to the children of their marriage; that during the life of King Guy the revenues of the kingdom should be divided between him and the marquis Conrad. As a reward for his services in the Holy Land, the marquis was to have the hereditary possession of Tyre, Sidon, and Berytus, and Godfrey of Lusignan, on account of his valour during the siege of Acre, the county of Joppa, and both to render the customary services to the king of Jerusalem. The king and the marquis swore to this arrangement.

A report was now spread that the king of France was about to return home, which was confirmed by his refusal to agree to the proposal of Richard, that they should bind themselves to remain with their armies for three years in the Holy Land, to fight against the heathen; and soon the bishop of Beauvais, the duke of Burgundy, and the counts of Amiens and Merlou, waited on the English king, to announce to him that the health of the king of France demanded his immediate departure from the East. "If Philip," replied he haughtily, "thinks that a longer abode in Syria will be fatal to him, so let him depart, and cover his kingdom with disgrace." He then required an oath from the French monarch that he would make no attempt on his dominions during his absence, and Philip, leaving the greater part of his knights and foot-men under the command of the duke of Burgundy, embarked in the beginning of August, and taking with him his share of the Turkish hostages he

sailed to Tyre, and thence to Tripolis and Antioch. He crossed over to Apulia, and proceeded by land to Rome, where the pope released him and his companions from their pilgrims' vows, and he reached his own kingdom by Christmas.

#### MASSACRE OF THE TURKISH PRISONERS.

THE chief command now remained with King Richard, and he very soon sullied his fame by an act to which the king of France, if present, would most probably never have given his consent. Historians, and novelists still more, have combined to give us very erroneous notions respecting the character of the English monarch;\* and the epithet of *Lion Heart*, which his contemporaries bestowed upon him, tends to spread the illusion, as if, in addition to the courage, he possessed the nobleness and generosity described as characteristic of the king of the woods. But on closely inspecting his actions we find little to commend; his courage was unattended by the skill and prudence which distinguish the able captain, and it was tarnished by a brutal and inhuman ferocity; his generosity was lavish profusion mostly excited by vanity; though a composer of lays and ballads, he does not appear to have known anything of the delicacy of love, and his chivalry† was very far below that of Tancred, much less deserving to be compared with the valour, generosity, and piety of the illustrious Godfrey of Bouillon. His inferiority in true nobleness of soul is immense when opposed to his magnanimous rival, the sultan Saladin; and when reading the transactions between him and Philip

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\* How very amiable, notwithstanding his heat of temper and some other trifling blemishes, is the Richard Cœur de Lion of the late Sir Walter Scott's romances of *Ivanhoe* and the *Talisman*! Without wishing, what indeed is not in our power, to detract from the just fame of that most distinguished writer, we may venture to inform our readers that a more total neglect of historic truth is nowhere to be found than what this last-named *historic* romance represents. Compare the Saladin of history, as we give him, with Sir W. Scott's "fancy-portrait in no feature like" of the sultan; also our account of the death of the Marquis of *Montferrat*, with his, of that of the Marquis of *Montserrat*.

† When in this work we use the words *chivalry* and *chivalrous*, we would always be understood to mean merely daring and adventurous valour; in its best form it was united with generosity and magnanimity. The existence of a peculiar institution,—such as that described by Ste. Palaye, Sir W. Scott, Mills, and others, from the romances, in their essays on the subject,—we deny, as we can find no *historic* evidence of it.



Augustus, a far greater man, we should always recollect that our authorities are chiefly the historians and panegyrists of the king of England.

The time on which Saladin was to make the first payment, and to deliver up the prisoners and the true cross, was now approaching, and the sultan had the money, the prisoners, and the sacred relic in his camp, where this last was seen and adored by two English ambassadors. Richard sent to the marquis of Tyre, with whom Philip had left his Turkish hostages and the management of all his affairs in the Holy Land, directing him to come to Acre with his prisoners. The marquis refused, and the impetuous monarch called on the princes to march directly to Tyre to punish his contumacy ; but on the proposal of the duke of Burgundy to go himself to the marquis, and to prevail upon him to give up the hostages, he adopted milder counsels. The duke succeeded in obtaining Karakoosh and his companions in misfortune from the marquis ; but Conrad firmly refused to serve under King Richard. The 9th of August, the day on which the exchange of prisoners and the other conditions of the treaty were to commence, was now arrived ; but Richard deferred the matter till the 11th, as the hostages from Tyre were not yet come, and on the 11th he put it off till a further period. According to the English writers Richard proposed various interviews with the sultan and his brother, which were accepted ; but when the English monarch came to the appointed place he found no one to meet him, and no apology was made for the breach of promise. On this point the Arabian writers are perfectly silent, and such want of courtesy is certainly not in the usual character of Saladin. They assert that the sultan by the advice of his emirs refused to give the money, the cross, and the prisoners, till he was assured of the safety of the Turkish captives, either by their being set at liberty on his giving security for the payment of the remainder of the money, or, if the Christians chose to retain the hostages to the last term of payment, by their giving security for their release at that period. One author, who was present at the time, says that Saladin required that the Templars,—of whose reverence for the sanctity of an oath the Mussulmans had a high opinion,—should bind

themselves by oath to see the Turkish prisoners liberated. This they refused, saying that, when the first payment was made, a part of the prisoners should be released, and the remainder be detained till the last payment was performed. Saladin became convinced, his historians say, that the Christians did not mean to act fairly, and he felt that his only course was to leave the brave defenders of Acre to their fate.

But that fate was not such as from the words of the treaty the sultan anticipated; for, as this had stated that in case of the sultan not fulfilling the conditions, their lives and limbs should be at the mercy of the two kings, he expected nothing worse than slavery to befall them. Little did he know the English king! Richard only waited until the forty days were expired, and then (August 20) he led out his prisoners, more than two thousand in number, into the plain between the hills of Ayadéah and Keisan, near the camp of Saladin, and there massacred them all in cold blood. The emirs and those for whom a high ransom was expected, or who were of strong bodies or expert hands, were reserved alive. The bellies of the martyred Moslems were ripped open in search of byzants by their executioners, and their gall was extracted to make medicine of it. The barbarous deed was applauded in the West; one voice alone (that of Sicard, bishop of Cremona) condemnatory of it has come down to us. Saladin made a vow never to spare the life of a Christian who should fall into his hands, but the prisoners in his camp, who were anticipating their freedom, were sent safely back to Damascus. He further determined never to restore the cross on which they set such value.

Thus, with a massacre which covered the king of England and the Christians in general with disgrace, terminated the siege of Acre. No siege ever perhaps caused such a loss of human life. Of three hundred thousand pilgrims who appeared before its walls, not more than six thousand, it is said, ever again beheld their homes; all the rest perished by disease or by the sword of the enemy. Among the dead were six archbishops and patriarchs, twelve bishops, forty counts, and five hundred other nobles of high rank and power.

## MARCH OF KING RICHARD.

KING RICHARD found it very difficult to make the pilgrims leave Ptolemaïs, where they gave themselves up to every species of sensual indulgence; by lavish expenditure however of his money he at length induced the greater part of them to consent to proceed to the siege of Joppa, and on the day after the massacre of the Turkish prisoners he committed the charge of Ptolemaïs, in which his queen and his sister with their ladies were to remain, to the knights Bertram of Verdun and Stephen Longchamp, and forcing the English and the French to leave the town he set forth. All women, except washerwomen, who were able to travel on foot, were prohibited from following the army. On the following day the pilgrims moved in the direction of Joppa, and the ships with stores and provisions weighed anchor to accompany them.

The army, though incessantly assailed by the Turks, who charged in small bodies of from twenty to thirty men, crossed the river Belus in safety. They abode three days in their camp on its opposite side to afford time for the other pilgrims to join. On Sunday, 25th August, they again set forth divided into three corps, the crossbowmen, whose jackets were impervious to the Turkish arrows, surrounding the knights for their protection. The first corps was commanded by the king of England in person, and composed of English and Normans, and a lofty *carroccio*, displaying aloft the lion, the banner of the king, moved in their centre; the last corps was led by the Duke of Burgundy. Saladin had occupied the valleys and passes of Mount Carmel; his cavalry hovered about the Christian army, and a thick fog coming on as they were in a narrow pass, and causing them to break their order, the Turks fell on and plundered the baggage; the knights hastened to the relief, but could not repel the infidels; the duke of Burgundy's corps, which was advancing, was thrown into confusion, and it was only the arrival of king Richard with his knights, and the mighty strokes of his huge sword, that availed to put the Turks to flight. On this occasion William de Bar fought so valiantly at the side of the king that Richard gave him

full forgiveness of his offence at Messina.\* Next day the army reached Khaifa, and encamped for two nights near the town waiting for the pilgrims from Acre. Saladin meantime reviewed his troops, gave money to repair their losses, and took up a position to await the Christians at the river near Cæsarea.

As the pilgrims advanced they found their toils and difficulties increase; the road lay over a deep yielding sand with hollow ways, or over plains and downs covered with strong prickly bushes, whose thorns pierced through their clothes. This inconvenience was in some degree alleviated by the abundance of game which haunted these thickets, and afforded them both sport and food; but at night, when they hoped to enjoy quiet and repose, they were tormented by the bites of insects named *tarrants*,† against which their only defence was the clatter of shields, helmets, plates, boards, and such-like. The towns and villages on their way were all deserted and destroyed. To keep up their hopes and spirits, every evening before they went to rest, a herald, by order of the king, thrice cried aloud in the midst of the camp, "God and the holy sepulchre aid us!" to which the whole army responded with tears and earnest prayer to Heaven for assistance in their need.

Each day, as the Christians advanced, the attacks of the Moslems became more daring and more frequent, and Saladin, true to his vow, put to death every captive that was made. One day it was remarked, that of the entire space of ground gone over by the Christian army, there was nowhere to be seen a spot of four feet in which there was not a Turkish arrow sticking, the discharge of them had been so copious and so incessant. At times, too, the pilgrims suffered for want of provisions. Negotiations for peace were meanwhile ostensibly entered into by the leaders, and Richard and Malek-el-Adel met to treat. But each was only seeking to gain time, and the English monarch was ever vague and indefinite in his expressions. "You are always talking of peace," said Malek-el-Adel, "but you make no proposal which may enable me to mediate a peace between you and the sultan."—"The con-

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\* See above, p. 430.

† Probably tarantulas.



ditions of peace," said Richard, "are, that you give us back our land which you have wrested from us, and go back thence to where you came from."—"Sooner than consent to such conditions," returned Malek-el-Adel, "we will give ourselves, both horse and foot, to death." The conference was soon broken off with mutual displeasure.

#### BATTLE OF ARSOOF.

ON the 7th of September the two armies, that of the Christians, we are told, counting a hundred thousand men, that of Saladin thrice the number, were close to each other in the vicinity of Arsoof. The king of England wished, if possible, to avoid an engagement, and reserve his entire strength for the siege of the important city of Ascalon. He divided his army into twelve corps, which were formed into five divisions. The Templars led the first division, the knights of Anjou and Brittany the second; the third was headed by the king of Jerusalem and the knights of Poitou; the English and the Normans were in the fourth, around the car which displayed the royal banner; the Hospitallers and the brave James of Avesnes led the fifth, composed of the bravest and most select chivalry of the army; the rear was protected by a large portion of the foot, the archers and crossbowmen being at the extremity. The baggage moved on the right between the line of march and the sea; the count of Champagne and his knights were on the left to repel the assaults of the Turks from the hills and the valleys which were close by. King Richard and the duke of Burgundy, each with a select body of knights, had no assigned place, but moved from front to flank or rear as they saw necessity. The whole army formed so compact a body that, as the historian expresses himself, an apple if thrown could not fall without touching a man or a horse. Strict orders were given that no one should engage a Turk till the signal of battle—two trumpets in the centre and as many at the front and rear—was heard to sound.

The army set forth early in the morning. The advance guard had reached the gardens of Arsoof, when their ears were assailed by the clangor of the trumpets, horns, and kettle-drums of the Moslems, and their loud war-cries of "God is great!" (*Allah akbar*,) and "There is no God but

God" (*La illah illa Allah*); and they saw themselves enveloped by the countless host of the infidels, whose banners of various form and device fluttered everywhere over the plain and the hills. Turks, Ethiopians, and Bedoweens assailed in the rear; their arrows flew like hail; the infantry was thrown into confusion, the horses of the division of the Hospitallers fell in great numbers, transfixed by the arrows of the infidels; still the king declined to give battle. The Turks and the negroes, whose sable visages, red turbans, and iron clubs inspired terror, emboldened by the apparent cowardice of the Christians, ventured to come so near as to strike them with their swords and clubs. The Hospitallers and their comrades were beside themselves with rage at being kept back from the fight. "O thou holy and valiant knight, St. George," cried a knight of the Hospital, "wilt thou thus abandon thy Christian knights, and expose us to the shame of being slaughtered like cattle by this accursed people without our being allowed to defend ourselves?" The master of the Hospital rode himself up to the king to remonstrate with him; but the only reply he got was, "Good master, you must endure it, no one can be everywhere." At length the chiefs met to decide on the time and the mode of giving battle; but ere they had determined the battle was begun. The marshal of the Hospitallers and another knight had set their lances in rest and charged the Turks who were harassing them; the other Hospitallers turned round their horses and followed their example; then the count of Champagne, James of Avesnes, the count of Dreux, and his brother the bishop of Beauvais, with all their chivalry, sprang forward to the conflict. The earl of Leicester made an impetuous charge on the Turks, who had gotten between the army and the sea; the infantry, who enclosed and defended the chivalry of Poitou, Brittany, and Anjou, opened their ranks, and with a loud cry the knights rushed forth like a whirlwind on the infidel squadrons, and cut down the Turks, who had dismounted to take the better aim. Richard himself, mounted on the famous brown horse of Isaac king of Cyprus, hastened to where the Hospitallers were engaged; each thrust of his lance unhorsed a Turk; each blow of his mighty sword severed a limb or cleft a head of an infidel. The dust was

such that the Christian warriors could not distinguish, and they frequently wounded each other. Saladin and Malek-el-Âdel exposed their persons in vain, riding through the ranks of their warriors and cheering them to action: the rout became general; some fled to the hills, some cast themselves into the sea, others sought to conceal themselves in the thick foliage of the trees, where they were shot by the Christians; the plain was covered with the bodies of men, horses, and camels, with arms, and with banners. Richard, fearing an ambush, did not allow the pursuit to be continued beyond the summit of the neighbouring hills; and as the troops were returning they were furiously attacked by the brave Faki-ed-deen, at the head of seven hundred select horsemen with yellow banners, and twenty thousand foot, whom Saladin had kept as a reserve. The Christians were surrounded and would have been cut off but for the speedy aid of William de Bar, and then of the king himself. The victory was brilliant; thirty-two emirs and seven thousand men were the loss of the Mussulmans, that of the Christians is stated at a tenth of the number. It was the opinion of both the Christian and Mohammedan writers, that if the pursuit had been kept up with vigour, that day would have broken the power of the Turks for a long time to come. When the pursuit had ceased, the fugitives slowly collected around the banners of the sultan, which had not been moved, and the great kettle-drum sounded without ceasing to recall them to their prince. Of all the troops those of Mosul alone obtained the sultan's unqualified approbation. Throughout the night Saladin was engaged in attending to the wounded; he was deeply troubled in mind, and rejected all consolation; and "All the Moslems," says Boha-ed-deen, "who shared in the dangers of this day, were sick in body and in mind."

#### DESTRUCTION OF ASCALON.

**R**ICHARD having won the victory led his army on to Arsoof, and they began to pitch their tents before the gate. While they were thus engaged the garrison made a sally, but they were soon driven back with loss, and the pilgrims reposed themselves in their tents. It was now discovered that the good knight James of Avesnes

was absent, and next day the Templars and Hospitallers, returning to the field of battle in search of him, found the bodies of him and three of his comrades lying surrounded by those of fifteen Turks whom they had slain. The body was brought to the camp and interred with every mark of respect befitting so brave and pious a knight. The army advanced the next day to Joppa, which they found deserted and destroyed, and they encamped in a wood of olives beside it. The abundance of fruits which they found here made them unwilling to quit this place; and as the ships which came from Acre were well freighted with venal beauties, they plunged, forgetful of their vows, into all their former vicious excesses.

Saladin meantime had re-assembled his army and encamped at Ramla. He had razed the fortresses of Mirabel, Belmont, and other towns and castles, to prevent the Christians from becoming masters of them; and it was now debated in his council of war, if it would not be also advisable to destroy, with the same design, the Bride of Syria, as Ascalon was proudly called. This course was resolved on, and the sultan led the greater part of his army to accomplish it. "By God!" cried the noble Saladin, as he viewed its beauty and its strength, "I would sooner lose my sons than touch a stone of this town; but what God wills and the weal of the faith requires must be done." He then put up a fervent prayer that God would direct him to do what was best; and seeing the utter impossibility of defending it against the Christians, he gave directions to the inhabitants to yield to necessity and to leave the town. The work of destruction was then distributed among the various divisions of his army, and though they wrought without ceasing, fourteen days were required for the levelling of the walls. When the magazines were emptied, and the mourning people were departed, the town was set on fire. King Richard could not believe the intelligence when it reached him, till it was confirmed by the knights whom he sent in a ship to ascertain the truth.

King Richard now assembled a council of war to deliberate on what were best to be done in the present circumstances. His own opinion was that they should set forth and drive Saladin from Ascalon before he had completed



the destruction of its walls; but the French and the other princes all declaring for rebuilding Joppa, and the people becoming turbulent in favour of it, the king was forced to give way. The work however advanced but slowly, and such numbers of the pilgrims returned to enjoy the delights of the taverns of Acre, that the strength of the army was fearfully diminished, while Malek-el-Adel was at hand with a considerable force. Richard directed King Guy to proceed to Acre, to make them return to their standards, and on his not succeeding the English monarch went thither himself, and by threats and entreaties made them mindful of their vows. Richard was accompanied on his return to Joppa by his queen and sister.

One day, while the army lay at Joppa, King Richard, attended by a few knights, went out to amuse himself with hawking, and overcome by fatigue he laid himself on the ground and fell asleep. His slumber was suddenly broken by the noise of some Turks who were approaching. Richard jumped up, mounted his good brown horse, and put the Turks to flight; but as he rashly pursued them a number of Turkish horsemen, who were in ambush, rushed out and surrounded him and his knights. Four knights were slain; the Turks were laying hold of Richard, when William Despréaux cried out that *he* was the Malek (*king*), and deceived by the richness of his attire the Turks made him their prisoner and let King Richard escape. William Despréaux was not long afterwards, as his fidelity deserved, exchanged against ten Turks of rank. On the present occasion the king lost one of his horses and his girdle filled with gold and precious stones. The horse was afterwards sent back by Malek-el-Adel, and the girdle was found and restored to him by a knight named William of Cornbury. All his knights joined, but in vain, in persuading the king to abstain in future from adventures in which he ran such hazard of his life.

At the end of October, when the season for military operations was past, King Richard set his army in motion for Ramla. As they advanced they were, as usual, harassed by the attacks of the Turkish horse, and they halted for fourteen days, while the king and the Templars repaired two ruined castles on the way to that town. On the 6th of November the esquires and servants who had

gone out under the escort of the Templars to forage, were attacked by 4000 Turks who lay in ambush. The Templars dismounted, placed themselves back to back, and long defended themselves valiantly. The Turks were on the point of overpowering them, when Andrew of Savigny came to their aid with fifteen lances; these were followed by the earls of Leicester and St. Paul. Four thousand Turks more, who were in ambush at the river, now entered the field and attacked the Christians; and soon King Richard himself appeared and charged the Turks with his usual ardour, declaring to those who would withhold him, that he had promised the earls of Leicester and St. Paul to follow them, and that if he broke his word he would not bear for another day the title of king. The conflict however was indecisive; each side claimed the victory.

#### NEGOTIATIONS FOR PEACE.

**R**ICHARD had for some time past been weary of the war and anxious to return home; the refractory spirit of those under his command was highly offensive to him, and he was apprehensive of the designs of his brother, Prince John, and of the king of France on his dominions. He had therefore, in the month of September, while Saladin was at Ascalon, made proposals of peace, and the sultan was at that time very willing to agree to any equitable terms, as his troops were greatly discontented at the length and the hardships of the war. But he soon saw that he might derive advantage from the discord of his enemies, for an envoy from the marquis Conrad appeared in the Turkish camp at Ramla, proposing an alliance, on condition of the sultan's giving up to him the towns of Sidon and Berytus; to this Saladin agreed, provided he would declare war against Richard, seize Ptolemais, and set at liberty all the Moslem prisoners detained there and at Tyre. The sultan also sought to excite the jealousy of Richard, by the marked attention which he showed to the ambassadors from Tyre. Richard however still persisted in his proposals of peace, and when, on the 16th October, Malek-el-Adel had sent his secretary, Sonia, to him, he gave him a letter for his master to this purport:—"Franks and Moslems perish, the land is laid

waste, and souls suffer as well as worldly goods. The holy war has had its due, and we have only now to come to an agreement about Jerusalem, the country, and the holy cross. As to that city, it is the seat of our religion, and we cannot give it up, though not a single one of us should remain alive; but we only ask as much of the country as is on this side of the Jordan. Do you give back the holy cross on which we set great value, but which you esteem only a common piece of wood, and let us, after this equitable peace, repose from our long toils." To this Saladin, after holding council with his emirs, replied, "Jerusalem is as holy, and even more so, to us as to you, for the Prophet made his night journey from it to heaven, and the angels assemble there. Think not then that we will ever give it up. The country belongs to us from of old, and if you took it when the Mussulmans were weak, you have been since justly driven out of it. The cross is in our eyes a gross deception, but we cannot give it out of our possession, unless some great advantage is to be gained for Islâm by so doing."

Richard next proposed that the sultan's brother, Malek-el-Adel, should marry his sister, the widow of the king of Sicily, that Saladin should give up Jerusalem to them, and that they should be king and queen of Palestine; that the cross should be restored, the Templars and Hospitallers put in possession of their castles and towns, and the prisoners exchanged on both sides. Malek-el-Adel, an ambitious man, listened eagerly to this proposal, and Saladin, to gratify him, gave his full consent, though he was still dubious of the sincerity of Richard. Whether the English monarch was sincere or not, is a matter which we have no means of ascertaining, our only authorities for the whole transaction being the Arabian writers; but when the envoy of Malek-el-Adel returned to him, he declared that his sister could not be induced to marry a Mussulman, but that he had held out hopes to her that Malek-el-Adel would become a Christian. This was on the 22nd of October, and on the sixth of the following month, the day of the attack on the Templars at Ramla, Richard renewed the negotiations, by sending to complain of the hostilities of the Mussulmans, and to desire an interview with Malek-el-Adel. According to Vinisauf,

Malek-el-Adel came into the Christian camp, and was magnificently entertained by order of King Richard, who could not see him, as he had been bled that day, and next day Malek-el-Adel sent the king a present of seven camels and a magnificent tent, and again visited him: the Arabian writers say, that Richard and his train came to the advance posts of the Turkish army, where Malek-el-Adel received him in a large Nubian tent and splendidly feasted him; and as Richard, who loved music, wished to hear the Oriental mode of singing, Malek-el-Adel had a singer brought, with whose performance the king was greatly pleased. The subject of their conference, which lasted the entire day, is uncertain, but they parted in the utmost friendship, though each is accused by the opposite party of not having meant sincerely. Richard was still anxious for a personal interview with the sultan, but Saladin declined it on the same grounds of indecorum as before, and the king of England could not avoid expressing his admiration of his firmness and constancy. But Saladin had in reality no desire for peace; he treated merely to please his emirs, who were weary of the war, and he privately told Boha-ed-deen that in his mind it was perfectly absurd to conclude a peace with the Christians under the present circumstances; for if they did not succeed with the advantages they now had in driving the Franks out of Syria, a future Moslem prince might have neither the power nor the opportunity to do it, and that he would sooner sacrifice his life in the holy war than make an unsafe and disadvantageous peace.

Richard now sent to Saladin to excuse the refusal of his sister, by saying that he could not dispose of her hand without the consent of the pope, which he had sent to seek; and should he not succeed, he pledged himself to give to Malek-el-Adel his brother's daughter, for which he did not need the pontiff's consent; he further proposed, that the kingdom of Jerusalem should be divided between himself and Malek-el-Adel, and he required only a share in the holy city. When Saladin laid the matter before his council, and asked whether they preferred an alliance with the marquis of Tyre, and those princes who were his friends, against the king of England, or peace with that monarch, they were unanimous for peace; and the



sultan found himself compelled to go on with the negotiation. Richard still continued lowering his demands, till at length, taking offence at the sultan's repeated refusal of an interview till peace should have been concluded between them, he broke off the negotiation finally and totally, having gained by it among the Christians the character of indifference, and among the Moslems that of faithlessness and inconstancy.

The negotiations for peace did not put a stop to the feats of arms. King Richard and his knights frequently rode out in search of adventures, and the king was seen at times coming into the camp with the heads of slain Turks hanging at his saddle-bow, to convince his detractors that his zeal for the faith was not abated. The earl of Leicester, in one of his excursions, followed by a small train, engaged and put to flight a party of the Turks; three of the knights pursuing too hotly were made captives; the earl and the others hastened to rescue them, and though the earl was a man of a slender and delicate frame, they put to flight a hundred Turks, and chased them over a river. Suddenly four hundred horsemen armed with lances, bows, and clubs appeared, and in an instant the Christians were enveloped. Several of the knights were thrown to the ground; the earl's own strength was almost gone, when Robert of Newbury gave him a fresh horse; but they were so completely exhausted, that all they could do, was to throw their arms round the necks of their horses, and suffer the Turks to pound them with their clubs and make them prisoners. But fortune brought to their aid the gallant Andrew de Savigny, Peter Despréaux, Henry de Grey, and other good and valiant knights. Savigny, with the aid of his comrades, slew a Turk of such size and strength, that the combined efforts of several knights did not suffice to take him prisoner. When the news of the danger of the earl of Leicester reached the camp, so many knights sprang to horse and hastened to the rescue, that the Turks were speedily put to flight, and the earl, who had had two horses killed under him, returned in triumph, and "it was said of him," says Vinisau, "that never in that age had there been a man of so small a body endowed with the magnificence of such exploits."

Saladin occupied himself during the winter in repairing the fortifications of Jerusalem; he himself set an example of zeal by carrying stones on his horse to the workmen as he rode to inspect their labours, and his example was followed by the cadis, fakees, emirs, and the people in general. Two thousand Christian captives were forced to aid in the work, which was completed in six months, firm and strong, say the Arabian writers, as a rock.

#### APPROACH TO JERUSALEM.

THE Christians were encamped in the ruins of Ramla and Lidda, where they kept their Christmas, and on New Year's day (1192), to their joy and surprise, they received the orders of King Richard to make themselves ready to march for Jerusalem. The transports produced by this command bore some resemblance to the holy ardour and enthusiasm of the first crusade; even the sick who were in Joppa had themselves carried on litters with the army, that they might enjoy a speedy view of the Holy City. Neither the fear of the Turks, who never spared the infirm, nor the severity of the weather, availed to keep them back, and with joyful acclamation the pilgrims trod the road leading to Jerusalem; and after many toils and difficulties they arrived at Beitnubah, within a day's journey of its sacred walls. But here their hopes were doomed to meet a disappointment. The Templars, Hospitallers, and Pisans had all along advised the king against this design, and now in a council of war they argued with such force, by showing the strength of the town and of the Turkish army, and also the impolicy of the plan even in case of success, as the greater part of the pilgrims would, when they had performed their vows, return home before the kingdom had been recovered and put into a posture of defence, that the king was convinced, and he resolved to execute his original design of rebuilding and securing Ascalon. The word was given to return; and then the pilgrims, deceived in their fond hopes of soon visiting the holy sepulchre, gave vent to their rage and indignation; some tore their hair and visages, and uttered loud and bitter imprecations on those whose cowardice or caution had frustrated their hopes; others of milder mood shed tears of grief, and yielded themselves up to despair; and

the difficulties of the road back to Ramla, no longer alleviated by hope and confidence, were almost insuperable. Richard stayed a few days at Ramla, and then set out with those who would follow him to Ascalon, the ruins of which town they reached after a toilsome march on the 20th of January. Most of the pilgrims, especially the French, had gone to Joppa or to Ptolemaïs.

#### RICHARD AT ASCALON.

**L**IKE Saladin, Richard encouraged the pilgrims by his own example in rebuilding the town; the French were induced, by his promise of letting them depart at Easter, to come and share in the work; and Richard, in one of his adventurous excursions, happening to come up near the fort of Daroom with a Turkish escort, who were conveying twelve hundred French prisoners to Egypt, boldly attacked them. The sight of the banner of the king of England now inspired terror wherever it appeared: the Turks fled, leaving twenty of their chief men prisoners, and the Christian captives accompanied their deliverer to Ascalon. Soon after Easter the walls and towers of the town were raised, and Ascalon was again habitable.

During the time that the Christians were engaged in rebuilding Ascalon, the duke of Austria left the army and returned home, vowing vengeance against the king of England.

The cause of his enmity to Richard has been given variously by the historians. According to one account,\* at the taking of Acre the duke planted his banner on one of the towers; Richard called him before him and asked of whom he held his land, and why he assumed the royal privileges when he was but a duke and no king. The duke replied, that under God he held his land only of St. Peter. "I then tell you," replied the king, "that you will soon be without land." The duke was highly offended, but he concealed his indignation. Others add, that Richard had had his banner pulled down from off the tower and cast into the mire. This is sufficiently in keeping with the brutal insolence of Richard's character to be true; but it is urged against it that the duke still re-

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\* Hemingford.

mained with the army, and even accepted money from the English king. We should however recollect how little of delicacy and fine feeling there was in the chivalry of those times.

Another account\* says, that it was on the march to Ascalon that the indignity had been offered to his banner. His marshals, it is stated, having a dispute with a Norman knight about quarters, which the latter maintained he had first taken, Richard, without inquiry, had the banner of the duke of Austria torn down and flung into a pool, and on the duke's applying for redress he met with nothing but ridicule. Others again say,† that when Richard sent to require the duke to aid in rebuilding Ascalon, he made answer that his father was neither a carpenter nor a stonemason; and when Richard met him, and renewed his application personally, he repeated the same words, at which the king was so offended that he gave him a kick, and then issued orders not to let the Austrian banner appear in his following.‡

The continued negotiations between the marquis of Tyre and Saladin gave Richard great uneasiness, and he sent to remind Conrad of the oath which he had taken before him and King Philip, and to desire his appearance at Ascalon. But Conrad replied, that his feet should not bring *him*, nor *he* bring his feet, to Ascalon till the king had conferred with him at some other place. A castle near Ptolemaïs was fixed on as the place of interview, and Richard set forth during the Lent for that city. In the meantime however a violent quarrel had broken out between the Pisans and the Genoese in Ptolemaïs, and the marquis coming to the aid of the Genoese laid siege to the town, thinking he had gotten a good opportunity of performing his promise to Saladin; but the Pisans, though assailed by the Genoese within and the marquis without, made a gallant defence. They at the same time sent to inform King Richard of their danger, and their messengers meeting him at Cæsarea he hastened his approach, which when Conrad learned he gave up the siege and returned to Tyre; and the king, by his efforts and admonitions,

\* Matthew Paris.

† Brompton.

‡ We need not notice Sir Walter Scott's pretty tale of the Scottish prince and his dog.



succeeded in restoring peace, at least externally, between the Pisans and the Genoese.

In the conference with the marquis, Richard was unable to induce him to join the army, and on his return to Ptolemaïs he held an assembly of the barons, in which he accused Conrad of breach of faith, and that prince was pronounced to have forfeited his right to a portion of the revenues of the kingdom. Richard, apprehensive of hostilities on the part of the marquis, remained in Ptolemaïs till the Thursday before Easter; and on Palm Sunday he solemnly conferred the honour of knighthood on a son of Malek-el-Adel, who had come to him for that purpose.

Richard kept his Easter at Ascalon, and entertained in his tents, which he had pitched before its walls, every one of the crusaders; and though the French had now nearly all abandoned him, he resolved on recommencing the war by the siege of the important towns of Gaza and Daroom. But just at this time a messenger came to him out of England, informing him of the designs and violent acts of his brother John, and urging his speedy return. Without hesitation he assembled a council, and declared his resolution to give up his projects in the Holy Land, and repair to the defence of his royal authority at home, leaving three hundred knights and two thousand select foot-men behind him in his pay, and giving the other English pilgrims their free choice to stay or to depart. To his great surprise the prelates and barons then represented to him, that as the dispute between the marquis Conrad and Guy of Lusignan respecting the crown was not at an end, and the latter had shown himself incapable of defending the kingdom, the king of England ought to give it to some prince of approved valour and wisdom, otherwise they were all determined to quit the Holy Land. Richard then asked them whether he should give it to Guy or to the marquis, and they unanimously named the latter. The king, seeing that it was useless to oppose them, having gently reproached them with their inconsistency, as they had been hitherto as adverse as himself to Conrad, sent the count of Champagne and two other knights to Tyre to invite the marquis to come and take the command of the army remaining for the recovery of the Holy Land, and to accompany him to the camp with all the honours due to a king of Jerusalem.

## DEATH OF CONRAD.

THE surprise of the marquis, when the envoys announced to him his elevation to the regal dignity, was extreme, and raising his hands to heaven he cried, "O God, thou true and gracious King, if thou hast chosen me for the ruler of thy kingdom, give me the crown in very deed; if not, give me not up to idle hopes." The general joy in Tyre was great; knights and esquires, who hoped soon to be led to battle by their gallant prince, expressed their satisfaction by tourneys, and talked without ceasing of the deeds they were to perform.

Conrad however still persisted in his negotiations with Saladin, and at length a treaty was concluded between them on the terms dictated by the sultan; namely, that Conrad should forthwith declare war against the other Christians; that each of the confederates should retain what he should conquer from them; that the towns taken by their joint forces should belong to the marquis, the booty and the Moslem captives found in them be given to the sultan; that finally, in case of the king of England giving up the land conquered by the Franks, it should, with the exception of Ascalon, belong to the marquis; and that, with respect to the division of the kingdom, he should have all that had been offered to King Richard. A want of confidence in the English king appears to have been the chief motive which urged Conrad to prefer the friendship and alliance of the sultan, and he declined the invitation to repair to Ascalon.

But the ambitious projects of the marquis were fated never to be realized. As he was returning to his palace on the 28th April, attended by only two knights, from an entertainment given him by the bishop of Beauvais, two Assassins waited his approach in a narrow street; the one presented a petition, and as he was reading it both struck him with their daggers, exclaiming, "Thou shalt be neither marquis nor king." One of them was cut down on the spot, the other took refuge in a church, and when the wounded marquis was carried into it he rushed on him again and plunged his dagger into him. Conrad was however conveyed to his palace, where he expired, after having received the holy sacrament, and given his last in-

structions to his wife. His remaining murderer died on the rack.

The two Assassins, who were young men, had been for six months in Tyre watching their opportunity to commit this deed; they had feigned conversion to Christianity, and had won the confidence of the marquis, and were, one or both, in his service. The question arises, by whom were they employed? The friends of the marquis, and the French in general, who were all ill-disposed toward King Richard, maintained that the Assassins had been employed by him; and King Philip affected to be so fearful of a similar attempt on himself that he surrounded his person with a guard of club-men; and even the contemporary Arabian writers say that the Assassin, when racked, declared that Richard was the instigator of the deed. The English writers, in their zeal for their king, produced one or more documents in his defence, which have been suspected of being forged; and it has been argued of late days from the chivalry of his character that he was incapable of such a crime. Richard's proceedings in the Holy Land however testify but little for his high and noble feelings, and the best vindication of him is, that those writers who accuse him are all of a later date; that the Arabians only repeated the report of Conrad's friends; that the letter of the chief of the Assassins of Syria to the king of France exculpating Richard cannot be proved not to be genuine; that Vinisauf, who was in Syria at the time, says that the Assassin, when racked, declared that he was employed by no one but his chief, the Sheikh-el-Jebel, which account is confirmed by the French writer Hugo Plagon and the Syrian bishop Aboo-'l-Faraj. One writer lays the crime on Humphrey of Thoron, whom the marquis, we may remember, had deprived of his wife and of his hopes of the kingdom; and an Arabian writer (Ibn-el-Athir) says that Saladin had engaged Sinan, the Assassin chief, for ten thousand pieces of gold, to murder both the king of England and the marquis Conrad, but that Sinan, not deeming it for his own interests to leave Saladin without an opponent, only performed his engagement in part. In a question of this kind the honour and the nobleness of the sultan ought perhaps to outweigh the assertion of a single writer.

The true account seems to be, that the murder originated solely with the chief of the Assassins: and the not improbable cause is given in the letter to the king of France and by Hugo Plagon; namely, that the marquis had seized and plundered a vessel belonging to some subjects of the Assassins, and had refused to give any satisfaction, though twice required to do so, and that therefore the Assassin chief had recourse to this means of punishing him.\*

Conrad had directed his wife not to open the gates of Tyre to any one but King Richard or his successor in the kingdom of Jerusalem. She therefore refused to admit the duke of Burgundy, who, with ten thousand French pilgrims, lay without the walls; and when a few days afterwards Henry of Champagne had, on the news of the marquis's death, returned to Tyre, the barons came to the sudden resolution of offering him the widow and the kingdom of Conrad. The French could make no objection to Henry, who was their countryman, and he accepted the offer made him, provided it met the approbation of his uncle the king of England, to whom he despatched messengers. Richard, without hesitation, gave his consent, only advising his nephew not to marry Isabel, who had lived in adultery with the marquis Conrad; but Henry, yielding to the wishes of the French and Tyrian barons, had his marriage celebrated on the 5th of May; and King Richard on hearing of it expressed no displeasure, especially as Henry induced the French to return to the camp at Ascalon.

King Richard readily put the new king in possession of Acre, and all the other places held by the Christians in the Holy Land, and all persons, Mussulmans as well as Christians, were gratified by the elevation of a man of so many noble and amiable qualities as the count of Champagne. As to Guy of Lusignan, the king of England gave him Cyprus, on condition of his paying the twenty-five thousand marks which the Templars had given him for it.

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\* We have entered into more detail on this subject in 'The Secret Societies of the Middle Ages,' and in an article on Von Hammer's *Geschichte der Assassinen* in one of the early volumes of the 'Foreign Quarterly Review.'



## PROCEEDINGS OF KING RICHARD.

WITHOUT waiting for the French and the other pilgrims, King Richard resolved, with his own subjects and the Pisans alone, to attempt the reduction of the strong fort of Daroom. His military machines were conveyed thither by sea, and the king himself and all his barons wrought like common labourers in the task of getting them ashore and setting them up. The Turkish garrison defended themselves bravely till large breaches being made, and finding that they would not be able to hold out long, they offered to surrender on condition of a free passage. But the answer of Richard was, "Defend yourselves as well as you can;" and the battering was continued without intermission. At length the place was taken by storm, and the garrison were massacred; but the inhumanity of the English king was punished by the small amount of the plunder, for the garrison had destroyed all their stores, and houghed the horses and camels. The Turks, who still defended the citadel, were granted their lives, but they were made slaves and treated with extreme cruelty. The siege had lasted but eight days; and it gratified the vanity of the king to have accomplished this enterprise without the aid of the French, and to be able to give Daroom as a present to King Henry when he joined him in his camp at that place.

Fresh messengers arriving from England with accounts of the proceeding of Prince John, King Richard openly declared that he would stay no longer in the Holy Land, to the loss of his royal crown and sceptre. But he hesitated when he heard that all the barons, English, Norman, Anjevin, and French in general, who were at Ascalon, had come to the unanimous resolution of laying siege to Jerusalem whether he stayed or not, and that all the pilgrims had testified their satisfaction at this resolve by festive songs, and dances, and illuminations. The knights who were about the king also expressed their determination to bear a part in the sacred enterprise; and Richard, in an agony of rage and grief at the little regard shown for his dignity, shut himself up in his tent. The situation in which he was placed was indeed truly painful: if he stayed he ran the chance of being deprived

of all his dominions by his brother and the king of France, and the idea of the pilgrims conquering Jerusalem without him was gall and wormwood to his proud soul. His whole character altered; he became abstracted and melancholy, and he passed his days in his tent alone.

One day his chaplain, William of Poitou, on entering his tent, was so moved by his altered appearance as to burst into tears. "Sir chaplain," said the king, "I charge you on your allegiance to tell me what makes you so sorrowful." Whereupon the chaplain, taking courage, reminded the king of his former deeds, and implored him not to sully his fame by too precipitate a departure; he told him that the hopes of the Christians all lay in him, as the guardian and protector of Christendom, and that if he left the Holy Land it must become a possession for the heathen. "Wherefore, O valiant king," said he, "complete the work which you have begun; help still the Christian people, who expect their safety from you, and follow your path with the aid of Christ!" The king made no reply, but the words sank deep into his mind. Next morning he led back his troops to Ascalon.

When King Richard was seen to enter the town, all supposed that it was with an intention of immediately embarking for Europe; the surprise of the princes and the people therefore was great when they heard him declare his resolution to stay in Palestine, no matter what accounts came to him from the West, till the Easter of the next year; and on Thursday, the 4th of June, he ordered his herald Philip to proclaim his resolve to the entire army, and to direct them to hold themselves in readiness to march for Jerusalem.

#### MARCH TO JERUSALEM.

THE effect of the name of Jerusalem on the minds of the pilgrims, and the ardour and enthusiasm which it inspired was such, that had King Richard possessed the ordinary talents of a commander, or been serious in his purpose of laying siege to the Holy City, it must have fallen into his hands; but he fluctuated continually between his desire to return home, and his jealous fears of the conquest being achieved without him; he acted with so much imprudence and inconsistency, and gave such

needless offence to the pilgrims in general, that he made them suspect him of having no real desire of recovering the Holy City, and he thus rendered the numbers and the valour of the army of no avail. Yet how much superior in force was it to that with which Godfrey of Bouillon and his gallant companions had won the realm of Jerusalem! Vinisauf, who was an eye-witness, thus describes its appearance as it marched from Ascalon:—

“There were to be seen innumerable flying banners, ensigns, and pennons of various kinds; the sons of so many mothers, born in so many countries; so many arms of every form, crests of helmets glittering with gems, shining corslets, flaming lions rampant on shields, or golden flying dragons, lofty steeds eager to bound away, whose bridles, as they disdained to be held, foamed with their ardour; so many mules, so many lances glittering with sharp heads, the air shone with the torch of the swords; so many valiant and chosen soldiers as, in my opinion, would suffice for a greater multitude of Turks, and enough to crush or to sustain a greater than themselves.” One spirit animated the whole, each aided the other, the younger knight gave their horses to the poor to carry their baggage, and marched on foot. The king of England alone shared not in the common enthusiasm; he led the army by slow marches, and though they had left Ascalon on Sunday, the 7th June, they did not arrive at Beit-nubah until the 11th, where he detained them an entire month, under the pretext of waiting for King Henry and the other pilgrims.

While the pilgrims were encamped at Beit-nubah various conflicts with the Turks occurred, and King Richard often engaged in those adventures, in which he loved so much to display his prowess. On the day after the army had encamped, information was brought in that the Turks were lurking in the mountains; Richard rode at once in search of them as far as the well of Emmaüs, where he killed twenty, took Saladin's herald prisoner, captured slaves, horses, camels, and mules, laden with spices and costly silken garments, and in the pursuit he had a distant view of the Holy City. A few days afterwards a Christian caravan coming from Joppa to the camp was fallen on by a body of Turks and Arabs, the escort was

decoyed into an ambush, and it was with difficulty that the caravan was saved by the earl of Leicester, who hastened with his knights to its aid.

A native Arab named Bernhard, and two Syrians, who, for a hundred marks of silver each, had undertaken to spy out the dominions of Saladin as far as Caïro, now arrived with information that troops were marching from Egypt to join the army of Saladin, and that rich caravans of that country had taken the advantage of their protection. Richard deemed it advisable to invite the duke of Burgundy to take a share in this adventure. It was agreed that the French should have a third of the spoil; and in the beginning of a moonlight night the king set out with five hundred knights and a thousand picked foot-men, and directed his march to Ascalon. Having gotten some provisions there, they advanced to meet the caravans to whose defence Saladin had sent five hundred horsemen, as soon as his spies had given him information of the departure of King Richard. One of his Arab spies now came to tell the king that one of the caravans had arrived at a round well in the neighbourhood of Hebron, intending to pass the night there. Toward evening he sent another Arab, and two Turcopoles, or light horsemen, dressed as Arabs, to bring more exact intelligence. When they approached the station of the troops and the caravans, some of the Saracens rode out to meet them, and to inquire who they were, and whence they came, and for what purpose. The Arab making a sign to his companions to be silent, lest their speech should betray them, replied that they were Arabs returning from a plundering excursion into the land of Ascalon. But the interrogators made answer that that was not true, and that they knew they were some of those cursed apostates who served the king of England. The Bedoween denied the charge, the Saracens went to lay hold of them, and they owed their safety to the swiftness of their horses, as they were pursued a long way and shot at with arrows.

King Richard having learned the state of things gave orders to feed the horses, and when night was come they set forward. On coming near the enemy he formed his troops, taking his own station in the van and giving the rear to the French, and his herald proclaimed that no one



should attempt to plunder so long as the battle lasted. Day now broke, and the scouts came in with information that the caravans and the troops were putting themselves in motion. Richard sent out the archers and crossbowmen to impede the Saracens, and bring them to action, and then advanced with his knights. The Saracen emirs fought gallantly, and cheered their men by voice and example; but nothing could withstand the force and the impetuosity of the Christian knights; the French in particular, incited by emulation, fought with the utmost skill and valour. The flight of the Saracens soon became general; some fled to the fort of Kerac, others into the desert, others back to Egypt. The caravans, which had halted during the engagement, fell, for the greater part, into the hands of the victors; a part was saved by the horsemen whom Saladin had sent, and who had gone on before; but returned when they heard what had happened, and killing the foot-men who were plundering, brought a part of the caravans into the mountains of Hebron. Several of the camels and dromedaries made their escape; but seventeen hundred were captured; the asses and mules were without number; wheat, barley, flour, biscuit, and other provisions, medicines, sugar, pepper, cinnamon, wax, coined and uncoined gold and silver, arms, and armour of various kinds, purple and silken garments, tents, and embroidered cushions, various silver utensils, and handsome chessboards, became the prey of the victors. King Richard returned by Ramla to Beit-nubah, and he bestowed a reasonable part of the booty on those who had not shared in the expedition. The joy of the Christians now received a further augmentation by the appearance of the bishop of Lidda, attended with a great number of pious men and women, who presented King Richard with a piece of the true cross; and soon afterwards the abbot of St. Elias, an old man, with a venerable beard, came and told the king that he had a genuine piece of the cross, which he had preserved, though more than once put to the torture by Saladin to make him give it up. He conducted the king to where it was; and it was found, and carried into the camp in solemn procession, and presented to the kisses of the faithful.

While the pilgrims were thus confidently anticipating

the recovery of the Holy City, in Jerusalem all was apprehension and despondency. The reparation of the walls, though far advanced, was not completed; the Turks who had been dismissed in the winter had not returned to the standard of the sultan, Malek-el-Adel and Malek-el-Afdel were away in Mesopotamia with a large portion of the army, the guards of the sultan and a part of the Egyptian troops alone remained for the defence of the Holy City; and it is not at all improbable that, as many of the pilgrims thought, the city would have surrendered or been deserted, if they had advanced at once to lay siege to it. Saladin himself was ill in health, and incapable of his customary exertions.

The sultan expecting an immediate advance of the Christian army, when he heard of the return of King Richard from his expedition to Hebron and of the arrival of King Henry with reinforcements, sent urgent entreaties to the Turkish troops to come to his aid, and at the same time he filled up all the cisterns for two miles round Jerusalem, to deprive the enemy of water. In the council of war which he assembled, the *cadi* Boha-ed-deen, by his directions, entreated the emirs to perseverance in the holy war; he cited the example of the companions of the Prophet, who in a similar time of peril had sworn to fight even to the death. "Let us then," said he, "follow this glorious example, and swear unanimously in the mosk of the *khaleefeh* Omar to die with weapons in our hands; it may be that this resolution will give us a victory over the enemy." No one made answer; "they were as still," to use the words of the *cadi*, "as if birds were sitting on their heads."\* At length the sultan spake from his throne: "Praise be unto God and a blessing on the Prophet! Know that ye are now the only army of Islâm and its sole defence, that the lives and properties and children of the Moslems are committed to you, and that beside you no Moslem dares to go against this foe, who if you, which God avert, retire, will roll up these countries as the angel of judgment rolls up the book in which the actions of men are written down. You have not merely undertaken the defence of these countries, and enjoy for

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\* See p. 371.

so doing all that our treasury can offer you, but the Moslems of other countries also depend upon your protection." Then rose Seif-ed-deen Meshtob, the brave defender of Acre. "My lord," said he, "we are thy servants and slaves; thou hast heaped benefits upon us, hast made us great and renowned, and hast given us so much that nothing is our own save our necks, and these we give unto thy hand; we swear by God, that none of us will quit thee so long as we live." All present assented to what the valiant emir spoke, and Saladin expressed his joy by giving a splendid banquet.

But when his confidential friends assembled around him for the evening prayer, as they were wont, they found him no longer cheerful. As they were going away he detained Boha-ed-deen, and told him that the Mamlooks, when they had heard the resolve of the emirs, had declared against standing a siege in Jerusalem, where the fate of the garrison of Acre perhaps awaited them, and pronounced it better to meet the enemy in the open field, where a victory would restore to Islâm all that it had lost; or in case of defeat, the army might reserve itself for another time, and that the city of Jerusalem, which Islâm had before been obliged to part with, should be then abandoned; but that if the sultan would compel his warriors to defend the town, in that case either himself or one of his near relatives should stay to command them. Boha-ed-deen spent the greater part of the night in comforting and exhorting the sultan, and when he returned to him at the time of morning prayer he advised him to seek the favour and the protection of God on that holy day (it was Friday), by private alms-giving, by fervent prayer, and by twice bowing his knees in the mosk of Omar. When a few hours afterwards the cadi was performing his devotions near his master in the mosk, he marked with delight the tears of sadness which rolled down the cheeks of the sultan during his internal prayer. The confidence of Saladin now revived; he resolved not to yield the Holy City to the infidels, and he appointed his kinsman, Maj-ed-deen Ferukh Shah, the prince of Baalbek, to be its governor.

But the apprehensions of the sultan were groundless; the Christian leaders thought of nothing less than of attempting the recovery of the Holy City, and the very

next morning he learned that they were about to commence their retreat.

#### DISUNION AMONG THE CHRISTIANS.

THE king of England had again begun to waver in his resolution; and such was the waywardness of his character, that the eagerness which the French manifested for advancing against Jerusalem acted as a motive to make him adverse to taking that course. In a council of war, he went over all the difficulties which stood in the way of such an undertaking, such as the distance from the sea, and the likelihood of their convoys being intercepted by the Turkish horsemen, who lay in their mountains between Ramla and Jerusalem, the danger to be apprehended of Saladin's placing an army in their rear, as he had done at Acre, while now their army was far less numerous than it had been at that time; when, moreover, their communication with the sea was unimpeded—difficulties which were all as apparent before the army left Ascalon as they could be now. In conclusion, he declared his willingness, in case of their being resolved on the siege, to go as their companion, but not to expose himself to the blame attached to miscarriage by bearing the chief command, and he advised to consult the Templars and Hospitallers, who were better acquainted with the nature of the country than they were, whether it would be more advisable to attempt the capture of Jerusalem or to turn their arms against Berytus and Damascus. A council of twenty, composed of five Templars, five Hospitallers, as many French, and as many Syrian barons, was then chosen and sworn, and it was resolved that all the pilgrims should abide by their decision. This council, after some deliberation, declared an expedition against Egypt to be the most likely to be attended with success. The French, however, still persisted in their desire to besiege the Holy City, but Richard declared himself vehemently for the Egyptian expedition, offering his fleet, all the aid in his power to such pilgrims as were in want of money or anything else, and to keep in his pay seven hundred knights and two thousand foot-men; while he declared, that in case of any other undertaking being resolved upon he and his knights would take a share in it, but he would do no more.



All this had taken place before the expedition to Hebron, and on his return the dispute was renewed. The council still adhered to their former opinion, strengthened now by the tidings of Saladin having filled up the wells; the French urged, and with good reason, whatever their motives may have been, the folly of an attack upon Egypt. There had never been any cordiality between the duke of Burgundy and King Richard, who suspected that the duke had received and acted on directions from King Philip, to impede his operations as far as was in his power, and he soon found an opportunity of making a charge of treachery to the common cause against him.

One night one of King Richard's scouts heard in the dark the trampling of men and camels coming down the mountains, and he watched and saw five laden camels enter the camp and proceed to the quarters of the duke of Burgundy. He immediately hastened with the intelligence to King Richard, who sent a party to waylay and seize the Saracens on their return. When they were brought before him he put them to the torture, and they confessed that they had brought the camels laden with presents from Saladin to the duke of Burgundy. Richard, forgetting how often he had himself received gifts from the sultan, though perhaps in a more open manner, fell into a rage, summoned the duke before him, and there swore on the relics, in presence of the patriarch of Jerusalem and the prior of Bethlehem, that he was ready that moment to march against Jerusalem, and he called upon the duke to take the same oath. On his hesitating, Richard called him a traitor, charged him with privy dealing with the heathens; and on the duke's denial of the charge he brought forth his prisoners, made them repeat their confessions on the rack, and then led them out and shot them to death with arrows, in the presence of the entire army, who knew not who they were or what was their crime.

All harmony between the pilgrims was now at an end; they were split into two hostile parties; the duke of Burgundy had satirical songs made on the king of England, and sung publicly in the camp, and the English monarch took his satisfaction in kind, a task which, according to his historian, cost him but little trouble, as the

French, by their offensive conduct in the camp, had afforded ample room for reproach. Neither Egypt nor Jerusalem was now spoken of, and on the 4th of July the disappointed pilgrims set out on their return for Ramla, harassed as usual by the Turkish light horse, and no longer cheered by the hopes which had formerly supported their spirits. It is said, that a short time before the army left Beit-nubah one of his knights called out to King Richard, "Sire, come hither, and I will show you Jerusalem." Richard drew his surcoat over his face and said, "O good Lord God, suffer me not, I beseech thee, to behold thy Holy City, since I cannot deliver it out of the hands of thine enemies." On the second day he pitched his camp near Ramla, and renewed his negotiations for peace with Saladin.

#### RENEWED NEGOTIATIONS.

THE negotiation was opened by King Henry's seeking, at the desire of King Richard, peace and friendship with the sultan. When this proposal had been well received by Saladin, Richard sent Yûssuf-el-Hajee (*pilgrim*), a servant of Seif-ed-deen Meshtoob, who was his prisoner, along with two Christians, as it were to treat with his master about the liberation of Kara Koosh, who was still in captivity. This was on the day that King Richard encamped at Ramla, and he desired the envoy to tell his master that the Mussulmans should not build any hopes on the retreat of the Christians, that the ram retires only to butt with the greater force, and that the emir would do well to advise the sultan to peace. But Saladin and his emirs knew too well the real state of affairs with the crusaders, to be moved by this fanfaronade; and Richard soon confirmed them in their opinion, by lowering his demands and almost descending to entreaty. He now required, beside the division of the country with King Henry, to which Saladin had already consented, only the possession of the church of the Resurrection; and as the sultan seemed inclined to agree to this, Richard sent a present of two hawks by another envoy, and required permission for twenty Christians to reside in the castle of Jerusalem. This the sultan refused; he would only allow the Latins to visit the Holy City as

pilgrims, but he consented to levy no tax on them. He made a corresponding return to the present of the English king, but he declined sending an emir, as Richard had requested, to the Christian camp, to swear in his name to the peace if it should be agreed on. Richard finally proposed, that Christians and Moslems should remain as they then were, the former having possession of all the coast from Antioch to Daroom, the three places which the Saracens held on the coast being given up to them, and Antioch included in the treaty. To this, Saladin, after advising with his emirs, replied, that he was already in treaty with the people of Antioch, and that his conduct toward them would be regulated by the answer his envoys should bring him; that as King Richard truly said, the three towns on the coast were a small matter to him, but that still he would not give them up, as it was unseemly for Moslems to yield to Christians what God had given them; that finally, he must insist on the demolition of Ascalon, but that King Richard might have the town of Lidda in compensation for the money which the rebuilding of that town had cost him. This reiterated demand of the demolition of Ascalon determined Richard to break off all negotiation; he declared that he would not touch a stone of that town; he sent three hundred knights to demolish Daroom, which he did not consider tenable, and he strengthened the garrison of Ascalon. After a short stay at Joppa he went to Acre, where he was rejoined by the knights (mostly Templars and Hospitallers) whom he had sent to Daroom.

It is worth our while, as it shows the opinion which the Mussulmans had of the duplicity and want of faith of King Richard, to read Boha-ed-deen's observations on the last proposal which he sent. "We observed," says he, "after he (the envoy) had delivered this proposal of King Richard, the cunning shifting from moderation to haughtiness, with which he sought to attain his object; for the king of England, whom God curse! could no longer put off his return home, and his whole conduct was directed by the necessity he was under of returning home. It was only through the help of God that the Moslems escaped the snares which this enemy, the most artful and enterprising of the enemies with whom we had to do, laid for

them." Though in fact cunning is not unfrequently the concomitant of that brutal ferocious valour which distinguished Richard, yet in this case the Moslems did him injustice. His want of fixedness of purpose was the real cause of his vacillation. Apprehension of the loss of his paternal dominions during his absence was ever struggling in his bosom with the love of fame and the shame of quitting the Holy Land without having attained the object for which he came; and this gave to all his negotiations with the Mussulmans an appearance of duplicity and artifice, which did not really belong to them.

#### SIEGE OF JOPPA.

SALADIN, who was now joined by the troops of Aleppo, under his son Malek-ed-Daher (*Conquering King*), and by his brother Malek-el-Adel, found that he might retaliate on his foes by becoming the assailant in his turn, and he resolved on the siege of Joppa. His army of twenty thousand horsemen and a vast number of footmen appeared before its walls on the 28th of July, and surrounded it on the land side, the two wings resting on the sea-shore. The Christians in the town did not exceed five thousand, of whom one-half were sick, and the remainder unskilled in the management of military machines; but the valour and heroism with which they defended themselves excited the surprise and the admiration of the Mussulmans. Saladin himself commanded the centre of his army; the left wing was under Malek-el-Adel, the right under Malek-ed-Daher. Machines were erected against the walls, and the miners commenced their underground operations; but the besieged wrought against them and chased them out of their galleries. On the third day of the siege, as a part of the walls had been thrown down, the besieged offered to treat, and the sultan was willing to grant them the same conditions which he had given to the people of Jerusalem. They asked a truce of two days till the following Saturday, to see if they should be relieved, but this the sultan refused, and on the following day a general assault was made by the Turkish army. During the assault, the east gate of the town, with two perches of the wall, was thrown down by the miners, and the Turks rushed in with a loud cry, but instantly piles



of wood which had been placed there blazed up, and the heat and the flame together repelled them; when it had subsided, a wall of spears opposed their progress and forced them to retire. The besieged no longer shut their gates; they harassed the besiegers with constant sallies, while the bows and crossbows, without ceasing, rained arrows and bolts from the walls.

There was however a timid party in Joppa, among whom were the castellan Alberic of Rheims and several of the principal knights, and they sent on this day two persons to treat with Saladin, who agreed to exchange them against Moslem captives, horsemen against horsemen, foot-men against foot-men, and to give the remainder of the people the same terms that he had given at Jerusalem. When they requested time to communicate these terms to those who had sent them, "I cannot," said he, "disturb the Moslems in the work which they have begun; but go to your companions and tell them to retire into the castle and to abandon the town to my people." The Christians hurried to the castle; the Turks rushed in, slaughtered the sick pilgrims whom they found in the houses, and killed several of those who had not yet gotten into the castle; a great booty, in which was a large portion of what had been taken at Hebron, was found, but the Mamlooks stood at the gates and forced the unwilling soldiers to give up what they had taken. Those in the castle declared their readiness to accept the terms offered, and though in the morning three Christian ships appeared before the harbour they persisted in their determination to surrender. Boha-ed-deen, accompanied by three emirs and a treasurer, had already entered the castle to take an inventory of the arms and stores; the Christians were ready to go out, when the emir Gordeek humanely proposed that they should not stir till he had driven the plundering Turks out of the town, lest they might rob and ill-treat them. This humanity of the emir lost the sultan the town and the castle. Forty-nine men with their wives and their horses had left the castle, when the Christian fleet was seen to increase to thirty-five sail, and the banner of King Richard was discerned: the Christians, cheered by the sight, broke off the treaty, made a sally into the town, chased the Turks out of it, and re-

turned to the castle. Still the timid party were anxious to treat; the patriarch of Jerusalem, the castellan, and several knights were in the Turkish camp, and Saladin was about to sign the treaty, when Boha-ed-deen came with tidings that King Richard had landed from his red-hulled and red-sailed ship; that he had been followed by all his troops, and that he had driven the Mussulmans from the harbour and the town. Saladin immediately laid the envoys in irons, and, leaving behind a large portion of the booty, retired with his army to Yasoor on the way to Ramla.

King Richard had been making preparations for his departure when messengers came to inform him of the danger of Joppa. He instantly caused his herald to summon the pilgrims to join in its relief; the Pisans, Genoese, and most of the other pilgrims obeyed the summons, but the French declaring that they would have nothing more to do with him set out for Tyre, where the duke of Burgundy fell sick, lost his reason, and died on the eighth day after his arrival—a judgment of God on him, as the friends of King Richard interpreted the event. Richard, accompanied by the gallant earl of Leicester and other valiant knights, got on board of his ships and made sail for Joppa, while King Henry led the Templars, Hospitallers, the Pisans, Genoese, and other pilgrims thither by land; but the fleet was retarded by adverse winds, and the army by the desultory warfare of the Turks. When the king came into the harbour, and saw the Turkish standards on the walls and the Turks in great numbers on the shores, he thought he was arrived too late, and he hesitated to land, till a priest jumped down from the castle-wall on the sandy beach of the harbour, and being unhurt by his fall ran into the sea, and making his way to the king, informed him of the true state of things; then, without a moment's hesitation, Richard plunged up to his waist into the sea and advanced to the shore. His knights followed his example; the king plied his crossbow stoutly, the Turks fled with loud outcries, and Richard had all the casks, planks, and pieces of wood which could be got, piled to form a bulwark to protect the landing of his men. Having found a flight of steps belonging to a house of the Templars adjoining the wall, he mounted it

and alone entered the town, in which there were three thousand Turks, but the gates were soon forced by the pilgrims. The Turks, when they beheld the banner of the king of England, fled with precipitation, and the knights, though they had but three horses, pursued them for a space of two miles. Richard then pitched his tent on the very spot which had been occupied by that of Saladin. On the following day he employed himself in repairing with dry stone the breaches of the walls, and he was joined by King Henry, and a part of his troops who came by sea, the greater portion still remaining at Cæsarea.

King Richard's anxiety for peace was such, that on the very evening of the day of his arrival at Joppa he sent Aboo Beker, the chamberlain of prince Malek-el-Adel, with proposals to Saladin, representing that the war was equally destructive to both parties, and avowing his extreme desire to return to the defence of his realms beyond sea. Saladin replied, that the only subject of dispute between them were Ascalon and Joppa, and as the latter place was now ruined and of no value, that King Richard ought to content himself with the coast from Tyre to Cæsarea. Richard then proposed to hold these towns, after the European mode, in fief of Saladin, and to engage to support him in all his wars. The sultan offered to divide them, leaving Joppa to the king of England. Richard threatened to pass the winter in Syria, if Ascalon were not resigned to him. To this the sultan, after having as usual taken counsel with his emirs, replied, "We can in no wise leave Ascalon in thy hands; spend if thou wilt the winter in this land, for know that as soon as thou quittest this land it will come again under our power, which, if it please God, will also be the case even if thou stay. If it is a light matter to thee, who art a young man, and as such still findest pleasure in the delights of this world, to abide in these regions, separated from thy country by a journey of two months, how much less heavy must the war for the cause of God be to me who am old, and have long since renounced the joys of this world, in the midst of my empire, and among my children and my friends, where all is at my command, and troops adapted for every season, for summer and for

winter, assemble round me at my signal. Wherefore it is my firm resolve to wage the war with thee, until God, after his decrees, has given the victory to me or to thee." The Christian envoy requested permission to visit Malekel-Adel, who was sick, which was granted, and that prince proposed an interview with King Richard. But the English monarch had again changed his mind; he refused to admit Aboo Beker into Joppa, and directed him to tell the sultan that he was weary of chaffering about peace, and that he was resolved to spend the winter in Syria.

#### VALOUR OF KING RICHARD.

**K**ING RICHARD'S pride was wounded by the cold reception which the sultan had given to his proposals for peace, and he was soon afterwards exasperated by an attempt to make him prisoner in his tent. Saladin had formed a body of three hundred Arabs, whose business it was to steal into the Christian camp at night, to kill or carry away those who fell into their hands, and to take off horses, money, and everything else they could find. During the siege of Acre, and afterwards, these men had done the Christians a great deal of injury; and as King Richard now lay outside of Joppa with a few men, in only about ten tents, they resolved to attempt to seize him on a moonlight night, the 4th of August. But ere they could settle among themselves who should go on foot to seize the king, and who remain on horseback to cut off his retreat to the town, day came and disconcerted their project. Just at that moment a Genoese discerned the glitter of helmets on the verge of the horizon, and he gave the alarm; another rushed into the king's tent crying, "O my king, we are all dead men." "Thou diest by my hand," said the king, "if thou art not silent;" and scarcely had he time to put on his shirt of mail when the Turks were on them, in seven corps, each of a thousand men. The forces of the king of England did not on the largest computation exceed seventeen mounted knights, and a thousand other knights and soldiers, and neither he nor his knights had had time to put on their leg-armour. He drew up his men in a compact body, making the dismounted knights kneel down on one knee covered with their shields and protruding their lances;



behind every two of them he placed a crossbowyer with his man to bend and charge his crossbow. He exhorted them in an animated speech, concluding with a solemn oath that he would strike off the head of the first man who turned and fled. He had hardly spoken, when the Turks made a furious charge; division after division assailed the Christian phalanx, and were repelled. During nearly half an hour the Turks stood so close to them that the points of their lances touched, but not a dart was shot; and they only menaced each other with swords and gestures. At length the Turks retired; the king then made the crossbowmen advance, and the whole body move on in close order: himself and his mounted knights laid their lances in the rest and charged the heathens. King Richard on this memorable day enacted prodigies of valour; with the speed of lightning he flew from one part of the field to another, slaying the Turks and relieving his own knights. A hundred Turks surrounded him, but each as he ventured to approach him paid for his temerity with the loss of his head or a limb; of one valiant emir he smote off at a blow the head, right shoulder, and arm. In the very midst of the fight a Turk brought the king of England two fine Arabian horses, the gift of Malek-el-Adel, and a message from him to use them to free him out of the great danger in which he stood. This acceptable and timely present of the noble Mussulman was afterwards suitably returned. Richard learning that three thousand Turks had broken into the town, kept his men in ignorance of it, and he took an opportunity of going back with a few knights and crossbowmen; and such was the terror which his presence inspired, that the infidels all fled before him. He then returned to the field of battle, and by evening the rout of the Turks was complete. The Christians had lost but one knight; seven hundred Turks and fifteen hundred horses lay dead on the plain. Richard, who for his prowess on this day was compared with Hector, Alexander, Judas Maccabæus, and Roland, had used his sword so vigorously, that his right hand was all one blister; his knights had emulated his valour; but all agreed that it was only by the aid of God that a handful of men had triumphed over such numbers.

Saladin at first sharply rebuked his troops for their

cowardice, for it was said that the king of England had ridden through their ranks from right to left without any one venturing to oppose him, and had even dismounted and eaten his mid-day meal on the ground between the two armies. But the noble sultan soon forgave all, and entertained his emirs at a banquet in the even. He led his army back to Natroon, and thence proceeded to Jerusalem, where he was joined by the troops of Mosul and Aleppo, and by a corps from Egypt.

#### PEACE BETWEEN RICHARD AND SALADIN.

THE Christians derived no advantage from their victory ; the French, who were at Cæsarea, refused to advance, the pilgrims in general were ill-disposed toward King Richard, and he and several of his knights fell sick. Saladin again advanced to Ramla, and his light horse extended their excursions to the gates of Joppa. King Richard, having in vain sought to rouse the pilgrims to vigorous measures, determined to have peace at any price ; and Saladin, aware how tired of the war his Turkish troops were, was not averse to an arrangement. Accordingly, on the king of England's sending to request a supply of snow and fruits, they were sent to him in abundance, and Richard took this occasion of inviting Aboo Beker to visit him, with whom he sent back a knight requesting Malek-el-Adel to mediate a peace between him and the sultan ; adding that Saladin might as well give up his demand of Ascalon, as after he was gone he would find it easy to deal with the few Christians who would remain ; that he himself asked nothing but an honourable peace, which would not injure him in the minds of his fellow-Christians ; and that if the sultan insisted on Ascalon, he should at least pay him what the rebuilding of it had cost him. But such was the impatience of the English king, that without waiting for the return of his envoys from Malek-el-Adel, he sent the very next evening five others to the camp of Saladin, offering to give up his claim to Ascalon ; yet when Saladin sent an emir to him he seemed disposed to retract, till his own envoys openly declared that he had empowered them to forgo his claim of compensation. He then expressed his willingness to abide by all that they had agreed to.

At length it was settled that a truce for three years, to commence from the 2nd of September, 1192, should be made; that Ascalon should be razed at the joint labour and expense of the Christians and the Moslems; that the country from Tyre to Joppa, including Ramla and Lidda, should belong to the Christians; that all the Mahomedan states, particularly that of the Assassins on the one side, and the principality of Antioch and the lordship of Tiberias on the other, should be included in the truce; that, finally, the pilgrimage to Jerusalem should be free and untaxed.

Malek-el-Adel set out for Joppa, and after having remained some time in his tent outside of the gate he was admitted into the town, and conducted to the bed-side of King Richard, who, on his presenting him with the draft of the treaty, said, that in his present state he was unable to read it, but that he had already ratified the peace, and that all particulars might be arranged with King Henry and the barons of the Holy Land. These without delay accepted the terms; and as Saladin had directed his brother to obtain, if possible, the cession of Ramla or Lidda, or at least a partition of these towns, they consented to their being divided between the Moslems and the Christians. They however excused themselves from swearing to the treaty on that day, as they had already eaten, and it was not the custom for them to swear except when fasting. Malek-el-Adel readily consented to defer the ceremony, and on the following day they all assembled in the chamber of King Richard. The king of England declined taking the oath, alleging that it was not the custom of the kings of the Franks to swear in their own persons; King Henry and Balian of Ibelin took the oath in the hands of Malek-el-Adel, and the Templars, Hospitallers, and the other barons recognized the treaty as binding on them. That same evening, Balian of Ibelin and Humphrey of Thoron, attended by a splendid train, and accompanied by Prince Malek-el-Adel, set out for the camp of Saladin, where they were assigned a magnificent tent, in which they stayed while Malek-el-Adel gave his brother an account of what he had done. The sultan expressed his pleasure at his not having pressed King Richard to take the oath. On the following day the sultan himself,

his brother, his sons, and all the emirs who were present, swore to the treaty, and he bound himself to make such of his tributaries as were absent swear to it also. The sultan's herald proclaimed forthwith throughout the camp, that henceforward there would be free and secure intercourse between the Moslems and the Christians; and on the 7th of September the emir Alam-ed-deen Keisar set out at the head of the workmen of both sides to demolish Ascalon. Since that time the Bride of Syria has lain a heap of ruins.

The publication of the truce caused great joy among the troops of Saladin, who were weary of the war, a joy in which their sultan did not share, knowing that the continued abode of the Christians in the East was pregnant with danger to Islâm, and that by vigour and perseverance they might, in despite of the valour of Richard, be expelled on the present occasion. The Christians, particularly the French, whose lukewarmness had been in a great measure the occasion of it, were loud in the reproaches of King Richard as a traitor to the cause of God. It is remarkable, whatever may have been the cause, that the True Cross, which in the early negotiations had seemed a matter of such importance, was not once mentioned on the present occasion. It was perhaps without justice that Richard was reproached with not having covenanted for the release or the exchange of the Christian captives, for this charge would be equally strong against Saladin, and it remains to be shown how better terms could have been obtained from the sultan, who was so unwilling to treat at all.

Some time afterwards King Richard sent to inform Saladin that he had only concluded the truce in order to return home to collect money and troops to complete the conquest of the Holy Land. The sultan courteously replied, that if God had decreed to give Jerusalem into other hands, no one had juster claims to rule over that holy city than the gallant king of England.

#### THE PILGRIMS AT JERUSALEM.

WHILE Saladin remained encamped at Natroon the greatest confidence and harmony prevailed between those who had lately combated each other with such animosity; the Christians visited the camp of the Moslems,



and the Turks and Saracens freely entered the Christian camp and the town of Joppa. Those who were anxious to perform their pilgrimage experienced the liberality and the kindness of Saladin, who adopted every precaution to protect them against the dangers which they might encounter on their way to the Holy City; and they contrasted to the sultan's advantage this conduct with that of King Richard, who threw every obstacle in the way of their devotion. He even, to have it in his power to prevent the French from performing their vows, requested of Saladin to admit no one into the Holy City without a pass from himself or King Henry; but the sultan replied that he did not think it right to hinder people, who had come from distant lands to pray at the tomb of their Saviour, from performing their vows; and he hospitably entertained in his camp those of the French who made the pilgrimage. Many of them however, in consequence of the opposition which King Richard gave them, returned home without attaining the object of their journey to the East.

When nearly all the French were gone, King Richard gave permission for all who pleased to visit the holy city. The pilgrims set out in three bodies under Andrew de Savigny, Ralph Teissum, and the valiant bishop of Salisbury. The first, not waiting for the escort which Malek-el-Adel was to have sent, ran some danger on the way; they however reached Jerusalem in safety; but their conscience smote them, and they viewed the words and gestures of the Turks who lay encamped before the gate of Jerusalem as menacing them with revenge for the murder of the garrison of Acre. They spent the night in terror on a hill without the town; but next day their fears were dispelled, when Malek-el-Adel and other emirs conducted them to the holy places, and the sultan entertained them and sent an escort with them to the frontier. The second body, in which was Master Gaufrid Vinisauf, the historian of the crusade, met with the same kind treatment; but the bishop of Salisbury, who led the third, and was commissioned to make the prayer and the offering of King Richard at the holy sepulchre, was received with the utmost distinction. Saladin sent some of his officers to invite the martial prelate to take up his abode in the royal palace. The bishop with all due courtesy declined this

invitation, as his vow, he alleged, obliged him to live as a pilgrim ; but he readily accepted the gifts of the sultan and the attentions of the emirs. The Moslem prince, curious to be acquainted with the chivalrous prelate, invited him to a conference. He there gratified him by a sight of the true cross ; their conversation, carried on through interpreters, was long. Saladin was minute in his inquiries about King Richard, and about what the Christians thought of the Saracens. The bishop extolled the valour and the generosity of his sovereign, and expressed his opinion, that if the virtues of King Richard and of Saladin were combined in one, he would be the greatest prince the world had ever seen. Saladin calmly listened, and then replied, “ Of the amazing boldness and valour of your king we have had abundant proofs, yet it appears to me that he sets his life at stake, I will not say madly, but certainly rashly and without advantage. For my own part, I would rather look for princely greatness by moderation and generosity than by temerity and foolhardiness.” The sultan desired the bishop to ask him a favour, and gave him till the next day to consider of it. His request, which Saladin readily granted, was that two Latin priests and as many deacons might be permitted to serve, at the cost of the pilgrims, in the churches of the Holy Sepulchre, Bethlehem, and Nazareth, the exclusive possession of which had been given to the Syrian Christians when the Moslems had recovered the country.

#### RETURN OF KING RICHARD.

AFTER an abode in Syria of a month from the conclusion of the truce for the recovery of his health, Richard, having sent away his queen and his sister under the care of Stephen of Turneham, embarked himself with a small retinue on the 9th of October at Acre, on board of a large ship which he had fitted out, and took his leave of Palestine, where he had spent sixteen months, illustrated by feats of personal valour, but tarnished by his inconsistency and impetuosity of character. The impression made by his surprising prowess on the minds of the Saracens was so great, that for years afterwards, as we are told by the Sire de Joinville, when a horse started they cried, “ Dost thou think it is King Richard of Eng-

land?" And when infants screamed, their mothers said, "Be quiet, be quiet, or I will go and look for King Richard to kill thee." Those who saw King Richard depart from Acre, and who, though they loved him not, admired his valour, regretted to lose his aid; and the inconsistent monarch himself is said to have shed tears as he left the port, and to have cried, "O Holy Land! I commend thy people unto God. Heaven grant that I may yet return to visit and to aid thee!"

Such was the end of the third crusade. With an enormous waste of lives and treasure, the two towns of Acre and Joppa had been acquired for the king of Jerusalem, and the precarious dominion of the Christians in the East had been given a longer duration than seemed to have been destined for it. Not less than half a million of warriors, the flower of Germany, France, and England—for the rabble which had swelled the numbers of the former armies of the cross had been kept away from the hosts of Frederic, Richard, and Philip—perished by the sword, by famine, and disease. Every noble family of the West counted one of its members among the martyrs, as the church, for their consolation, assured them they had been; an emperor and his son, prelates and princes, barons and knights without number, expired far from their native land. "We reckoned," said Balian of Ibelin to Saladin, "the Christians who came over the sea at six hundred thousand men, and not one of every ten returns to his own home."

The king of England, after leaving the port of Acre, was tossed about by storms during six weeks. It is probable that with his usual want of forethought he had never fixed on the route which he intended to pursue, in order to reach his own dominions, though danger environed him on all sides, as the king of France, the emperor of Germany, the count of Toulouse, the duke of Austria, and all the family of Montferrat, were his enemies. He came at last within view of the coast of Barbary; but he feared to make for the port of Marseilles, which was distant but three days' sail; the safer course of pursuing his voyage through the straits of Gibraltar seems never to have entered his mind, and he directed his course to the Adriatic. Off Corfu his ship was attacked by two corsairs; but as the master of it was acquainted with the pirates, he made

peace, and they all together entered a port of the island. The king here engaged one of the corsairs to convey him and his companions to the coast of Istria, as he had now fixed on repairing to his nephew the duke of Saxony.

#### CAPTURE OF KING RICHARD.

THE royal voyager suffered shipwreck between Venice and Aquileia; but he got safe to shore, and under the disguise of a borrowed name, a long beard, and the clothing of the country, he pursued his journey through the territory of Count Meinhard of Görtz, a relative of the marquis Conrad. But the expenses of the traveller accorded more with those of a monarch than of Hugh, the merchant (his assumed character), and the gift of a ruby ring, which he sent to the count when requesting a free passage, betrayed his quality. Meinhard treacherously sought to seize him; but the king escaped, and proceeded to Carinthia, where the brother of Meinhard, dealing more openly, sent Roger d'Argenton, a Norman knight, who had been more than thirty years in his service, to secure his person. But the Norman, recognizing his native prince, furnished him with a fleet horse for his escape, and the king fled in the night, attended only by William de l'Etang and a servant, who spoke the German language. The remainder of his companions were made captives.

During three days and nights King Richard roamed about, and at length he arrived at Erdburg, a village on the Danube, not far from Vienna, where he took up his abode in a miserable inn, intending to repose there for some days. The duke of Austria, knowing that his enemy was in Germany, had guards set on all the roads to intercept him, and Richard, with characteristic imprudence, continued to spend beyond what suited his appearance, and he would not lay aside a valuable ring which he wore on his finger. His servant too, when he went to make some purchases at Vienna, having conducted himself with great imprudence, and shown several Eastern gold coins, was arrested, and only escaped by asserting that he belonged to a rich merchant who would arrive in a few days. When he returned he urged the king to set forth without delay; but Richard still lingered, the servant continued



to visit Vienna, the fine quality of the provisions which he purchased attracted attention, and at length the king's gloves, which he carried in his girdle, betrayed him. He was seized a few days before Christmas, and put to the torture, and he confessed the truth. The inn was immediately surrounded with armed men; the mayor of Vienna entered, saying, "I greet thee, king of England; thou disguisest thyself in vain, thy face betrays thee." The king was laying hold on his sword, but the mayor desired him to be cautious what he did, assuring him that he was safer there than anywhere else, and that if he had fallen into the hands of the friends of the marquis, who were on the look-out for him, he would not have escaped, even though he had a hundred lives. The king declaring that he would surrender to no one but the duke, Leopold appeared, and he handed him his sword. The royal captive was placed in the castle of Tierenstein, on the Danube, between Vienna and Lintz, and armed men with drawn swords watched over him day and night. The duke of Austria lost no time in informing the emperor Henry VI. of the important prize he had made; and at Christmas he conducted his captive to Ratisbon, where the emperor held the feast, and as that monarch professed not to deem it becoming that a king should remain in the hands of a simple duke, Leopold promised to surrender his prisoner against the ensuing Easter. The emperor wrote immediately to inform the king of France of what had passed.

#### RICHARD IN CAPTIVITY.

ON the Thursday after Palm-Sunday, 23rd March, 1193, Leopold delivered at Mentz, to the emperor, his royal prisoner, who was placed in confinement in the castle of Trifels, whence he was afterwards removed to Worms. His cheerfulness never abandoned him, and he amused himself with playing tricks on his keepers, making them drink, or amazing them by proofs of his great strength.

The English pilgrims who reached their home against Christmas were surprised to find that their king was not yet returned, especially as they had met at Brundisium the ship in which he had sailed. The nation was in great anxiety about his fate, when the king of France communicated to the archbishop of Rouen the information which

he had received from the emperor. A council was held (February 28) at Oxford, and two abbots were despatched to Germany to ascertain his situation. They met the king in Bavaria on his way to Mentz; he was cheerful as usual, and complained of nothing but of the conduct of his brother John. His treatment while in the hands of the duke of Austria had not been, he said, by any means harsh or unreasonably severe.

It is thus, we should think, quite evident that the English nation were not for any time ignorant of the fate of their king, and of the place of his captivity. Accordingly, none of the historians expresses any doubt on the subject; but a romantic tale of the discovery of his prison by a distinguished minstrel, named Blondel de Nesle, gradually gained ground, and eventually is become a part of most histories of England. The tale is thus told in a manuscript chronicle of the thirteenth century:\*

“Now we will tell you of King Richard, whom the duke of Austria held in prison, and no one knew aught of him, save only the duke and his councillors. Now it happened, that he had for a long time had a minstrel who was born in Artois, and was named Blondiaus. This man resolved in himself that he would seek his lord in all countries till he had found him, or till he had heard tidings of him; and so he set forth, and he wandered day after day so long by pool and marsh, that he had spent a year and a half, and never could hear any sure tidings of the king; and he rambled on till he came into Austria, as chance led him, and went straight to the castle where the king was in prison; and he took up his abode in the house of a widow woman, and asked her whose was that castle that was so fair and strong and well-seated. The hostess made answer and said that it was the duke of Austria's. ‘Fair hostess,’ said Blondiaus, ‘is there any prisoner in it now?’ ‘Yea, doubtless,’ said she, ‘one who hath been there these four years, but we cannot learn of a certainty who he is; but they guard him very diligently, and we surely think that he is a gentleman and a great lord.’ And when Blondiaus heard these words he marvelled, and he thought in his heart that he had found what he was in

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\* Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, vol. ii.

quest of, but he said nought thereof to the hostess. He slept that night and was at ease, and when he heard the horn sounding the day, he got up, and went to the church to pray to God to aid him; and then he came to the castle, and went up to the castellan and told him that he was a player on the viol, and would willingly abide with him if it pleased him. The castellan was a young knight and handsome, and he said that he would willingly retain him. Then Blondiaus departed, and he went for his viol and his instruments, and he so served the castellan that he was well with all the family and his services pleased much. So he stayed there all the winter, and he never could know who the prisoner was. At length, he was going one day in the festival of Easter through the garden which was by the tower, and he looked around to try if by any chance he could see the prisoner. So while he was in that thought, the king looked and saw Blondiaus, and thought how he should make himself known to him; and he called to mind a song which they had made between them two, and which no one knew save the king. So he began loud and clearly to sing the first verse, for he sang right well. And when Blondiaus heard him, he knew of a certainty that it was his lord, and he had the greatest joy in his heart that ever he had on any day; and he went forthwith out of the orchard and entered his chamber where he lay, and took his viol and began to play a note, and in playing he delighted himself on account of his master whom he had found. So Blondiaus tarried till Pentecost, and concealed himself so well that no one doubted of his secret. Then Blondiaus came to the castellan and said to him, 'Sire, if it please you, I would willingly go to mine own country, for it is a long time since I have been there.' 'Blondiel, my fair brother,' said the castellan, 'this you will by no means do if you believe me, but you will remain here and I will do you great good.' 'Certes, sire,' said Blondiaus, 'I would not stay on any wise.' When the castellan saw that he could not keep him, he gave him his congé and therewith a good nag. Then Blondiaus parted from the castellan and journeyed till he came to England, and told the friends of the king and the barons where he had found the king and how. When they heard these tidings they were greatly rejoiced, for the king was the most liberal

knight that ever wore a spur. And they took counsel among them to send to Austria to the duke to ransom the king, and they chose two knights to go thither of the most valiant and most wise. And they journeyed till they came to Austria, to the duke, and they found him in one of his castles, and they saluted him on the part of the barons of England, and said to him, 'Sire, they send to you and pray that you will take ransom for their lord, and they will give you as much as you desire.' The duke replied, that he would take counsel on it, and when he had taken counsel he said, 'Lords, if ye wish to have him, ye must ransom him for two hundred thousand marks sterling, and make no reply, for it would be lost labour.' Then the messengers took leave of the duke, and said that they would report it to the barons, and they would then take counsel on it. So they came back to England and told the barons what the duke had said, and they said that the matter should not stand for that. Then they made ready the ransom, and they sent it to the duke, and the duke delivered up to them the king; but he first made them give him good security that he should never be molested for it."

Another chronicle quoted by Fouchet\* gives a similar account. It says, that Blondel came one day before a window of the tower in which Richard was confined, and began to sing a song which they had made together. When he had sung it half through, the king took it up and sang the remainder, and thus Blondel knew that it was his master.

It is scarcely necessary to say that romances like these are not to be set in comparison with the narratives of sober historians like Matthew Paris, and that therefore the whole tale of Richard and Blondel should be regarded as a mere fiction. It is very displeasing to the inquirer after historic truth to see such a writer as Sir James Mackintosh relating the tale as a truth on the authority of the chronicle just quoted. The reader should have been told that it is the sole authority, and its value should have been stated.†

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\* *Recueil de l'Origine de la Langue et Poésie Française: Rime et Romans*, p. 92.

† "He was one day (at Trifels) answered from without by a well-known voice,



To this time also belongs the legend of King Richard's combat with the lion and 'robbing him of his heart,' whence he came to be called Cœur de Lion, or Lion-hearted.

We are told\* that while he was a prisoner to the emperor Henry, a fierce and hungry lion was one day let loose and turned at him, with the design, it was thought, that he might tear him to pieces, and the blame might be thrown on the negligence of the keeper. But Richard, nothing daunted, wrapped his cloak around his arm, and as the lion came on with open jaws and full of fury he thrust his arm down his throat, and grasping his heart tore it out, and then ate it, "hot and raw," whence, says our author, he got the name of *Ricardus cor leonis*.

It is perhaps needless to inform the reader that the feat here recorded is an impossibility, and that the name which was given to Richard for his valour gave occasion to the legend. To return:—

The king of France, when assured of the captivity of his formidable rival, made war on his dominions, and he wrote to the emperor, who had promised Richard his liberty for a ransom, pressing him to detain him. The pope, urged by the queen and sister of King Richard, who were then at Rome, and by the earnest letters of Queen Eleanor, menaced the emperor with excommunication. The learned Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, wrote to his school-fellow the archbishop of Mentz, exhorting him to use the spiritual sword without fear or hesitation; and the abbot of Clugny wrote to the emperor, calling upon him to be just and upright toward his illustrious captive; the poets all deplored the fate of the chivalrous king of England, and excited the compassion of all orders of men in his favour. King Richard himself, by the advice of his mother, offered to hold his crown in fee of the emperor, as the superior lord of all kings, and to pay an annual tribute of five thousand pounds; and in the presence of several English and German barons he handed his hat to the emperor as a symbol, and was by

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that of Blondel his minstrel, who had probably been sent from England to convey information to the king, and to gain intelligence of his situation."—History of England, vol. i. p. 192. Richard was not in Trifels till Easter, and the two English abbots had met and conversed with him on his way thither.

\* Knyghton, *De Event. Angliæ*, l. ii. apud Twisden x. *Scriptores*, etc., p. 2408.

him in like symbolical manner invested with the kingdom of England by a double golden cross.

Henry summoned at Easter his new vassal to defend himself before the diet, and justify himself from the charges of having aided Tancred, the usurping king of Sicily; of having deposed Isaac of Cyprus, who was a relative of the emperor; of having caused the Marquis Conrad, a vassal of the empire, to be murdered by the Assassins; of having ill-treated the German crusaders, insulted the banner of the duke of Austria, betrayed the Holy Land to Saladin, and committed sundry acts of disloyalty against his liege king Philip of France. King Richard, though acknowledging the hastiness of his temper, which had led him into many unbecoming actions, defended himself against all these charges with such eloquence, that the duke of Austria, who was present, was melted to tears, and the emperor descending from his throne embraced him, and promised him his friendship. The treatment of King Richard became now more gentle, and he was assigned a suitable abode in the city of Mentz.

After various delays and increases of demand on the part of the emperor, owing to the practices of the king of France and Prince John with him, the ransom of King Richard was agreed on on the 29th of June. The king was to pay down one hundred thousand marks of pure silver, and a further sum of fifty thousand marks in aid of the emperor's war in Apulia, in which last sum were included twenty thousand which the duke of Austria was to have, and the king was to give sixty hostages to the emperor and seven to the duke for its payment. These fifty thousand marks were however to be omitted if the king of England aided the emperor against the duke of Saxony, the emperor undertaking to satisfy the duke of Austria. Further, King Richard was to give his niece Eleanor, sister to Arthur duke of Brittany,\* in marriage to Frederic son of the duke of Austria, and he was to deliver up the king of Cyprus and his daughter, without ransom, to that prince, who was their relative.

The time required for raising so large a sum of money, and the difficulties started by the emperor, prolonged the

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\* The unfortunate Maid of Brittany. See History of England, vol. i. p. 135, 12mo. edit.

captivity of Richard for several months. The emperor showed him and his mother Queen Eleanor, who had come to Germany, the letters of King Philip and Prince John, and they found themselves obliged to appeal to the German princes who had guaranteed the treaty of Worms. The emperor was then forced to give way, and on the 4th of February (1194) King Richard was once more free. On the 13th of March he landed at Sandwich, and to efface the shame of his captivity he had himself crowned anew by the archbishop of Canterbury.

King Richard immediately made his complaints to Pope Celestine of the conduct of the emperor and the duke of Austria; especially of that of the latter, who had, he said, sold him like an ox or an ass. The pontiff directed Leopold to release his English hostages, and to remit the ransom of the king; but the Austrian duke gave no heed to the repeated admonitions of the holy father, and excommunication was pronounced against himself, and his duchy laid under an interdict. Still undismayed, he sent Baldwin of Bethune to inform King Richard, that unless he fulfilled his agreement he would hang the hostages, and Richard, moved by this threat, committed the two princesses to Baldwin, to conduct them to Austria.

But Duke Leopold was by this time no more. As he was celebrating a tourney in Grätz at Christmas, his horse fell with him and broke his leg. The nature of the fracture was such as to call for amputation, but no surgeon would venture to perform the operation; the duke himself, then taking an axe, laid it on his leg, and his chamberlain by his direction struck it with a hammer. At the third blow the limb came off, but there remained no hopes of the duke's life. His conscience now smote him; but the archbishop of Salzburg, to whom he addressed himself, would re-admit him into the bosom of the church only on condition of his setting the English hostages at liberty, remitting his demands on the king of England, and returning the money which he had received. On the duke's swearing to perform these conditions, the prelate granted him absolution. Leopold's son Frederic hesitated to fulfil what his father had sworn; but, the clergy refusing to suffer the body of the deceased duke to be interred, he was obliged to submit, and to release the hos-

tages. Baldwin of Bethune, hearing on the way of the death of Duke Leopold, conducted the princesses back to King Richard.

A philosophical historian\* makes the following just observations on the foregoing transaction: "So sordid and base were the objects aimed at in the most pompous language and the most solemn proceedings, when a great monarch was brought to trial before the emperor and the most illustrious princes, for having by a foul murder brought dishonour on the Christian name. The purpose of all these high-sounding terms was no more than to extort one hundred thousand marks of silver." Baser conduct is nowhere perhaps to be found than that of the emperor; the duke of Austria, who had been grossly insulted, had certainly some excuse, but what rights had the emperor of Germany over the king of England? He was not a vassal of the empire, and any offences he might have committed did not make him amenable to the tribunal of the German princes. But the true secret of the affair is this—a good opportunity of extorting money had presented itself, and was not to be let slip.

Yet this was the age of chivalry! If we believe romancers, and philosophers,† and historians, who give the range to their imagination, and set before us a state of manners drawn from the old romances as a reality, there was flourishing at this time an institution to which all kings and nobles belonged, which, after a course of previous discipline and education, bound him who entered it to the practice of all that ennobles and gives dignity to the human character. More than once have we asserted that the crusades present no traces of such an institution, which we believe never to have existed, save in the romances, till the dukes of Burgundy, of the house of Valois, and some other princes, attempted to reduce to practice what the author of *Perce-forest*, and other romance-writers, had invented. This is not the place to give our proofs, but we are confident that it will be difficult to adduce any *historic* evidence of this artificial state of manners anterior to the fourteenth, we might perhaps say the fifteenth, century.

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\* Mackintosh, *History of England*, vol. i. p. 194.

† See Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*.



## DEATH OF SALADIN.

FROM the impetuous, capricious, rude, ferocious king of England, and his paltry chaffering captors, we return with pleasure to his great opponent, the noble, mild, and generous sultan, Saladin. After the departure of King Richard, Saladin, who now enjoyed peace for the first time for thirty years, turned all his thoughts to the regulation of the internal affairs of his kingdom. The enlargement and improvement of Jerusalem was one of his first objects; he enclosed the chapel of Mount Zion within its walls, and he established and endowed in it a school and a hospital. As he had concluded the holy war, he meditated the pilgrimage to Mecca, but on the representations of his emirs he gave up this project. Having visited the cities of the coast, he set out for Damascus, his favourite residence, intending, after reposing awhile there, to proceed to Egypt.

Saladin arrived at Damascus on the 4th of November: and on the 16th of the following February his friend, the cadi Boha-ed-deen, who had repaired thither from Jerusalem at his command, beheld with grief the change which had taken place in him. He had lost all his application to business, and he was melancholy and depressed even to tears. On the 19th of February the cadi informed him that the caravan of pilgrims from Mecca was approaching. The sultan gave orders that the streets, which the late heavy rains had inundated, should be cleaned, and he rode out himself to meet the caravan. The following night he was attacked by a bilious fever, but he got up in the morning, and conversed a long time with the cadi and with his son, prince Malek-el-Afdal. Bleeding was injudiciously resorted to. The disorder gained ground every day, and on the 3rd of March, 1193, the great Saladin expired; in the fifty-seventh year of his age, mourned unfeignedly by his family, his friends, his emirs, and all the people over whom he had ruled. "With him," says his secretary Emad-ed-deen, "died the great men,—with him disappeared the people of merit; good actions became scarce, evil ones increased, life grew difficult, darkness covered the earth, the age wept its phoenix, Islâm lost its stay." The Christians, who of course saw in his death

the righteous judgment of God on the determined foe of the faith, did however justice, nay, more than justice, to the merits of the deceased sultan.

The funeral of the mighty Saladin was defrayed with borrowed money, for the treasury of the lord of Syria and Egypt contained but a single gold coin of Tyre, and forty-seven small pieces of silver. He was interred in the place where he died, and three years afterwards his son, Malek-el-Afdal, having raised a mausoleum for him near the great mosk, conveyed his body thither in state.

Christian writers tell, the Orientals are silent on it, that Saladin, previous to his death, gave orders to one of his emirs to go through the streets of Damascus, carrying his shroud, and crying with a loud voice, "Behold all that Saladin the conqueror of the East taketh away with him!" This story was perhaps invented for its moral; but it may be true, as something similar is told by the Orientals of the khaleefeh Moawiyah.

#### CHARACTER AND ANECDOTES OF SALADIN.

**Y**USSUF Salah-ed-deen Malek-en-Nasser,\* whom we usually call Saladin, occupied too important a place in the history of his time to be neglected by the contemporary writers. His friend the cadi Boha-ed-deen, whom we have often had occasion to quote, devoted a work to the history of his life, and various traits of him are given by other Oriental writers. There would be therefore no character in Eastern history which we have better means of learning than his, were it not that he had the singular fortune to find none but panegyrists. We must therefore receive his praises with caution, and estimate him solely by his actions.

Saladin, as we have frequently seen, was generous. The Syrian bishop Aboo-'l-Faraj relates the following anecdote which shows the difference between him and the conscientious Noor-ed-deen. When Saladin became master of Damascus, he distributed, according to his custom, among his emirs the treasures he found there. The task of dis-

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\* His proper name was Yûssuf (Joseph); Salah-ed-deen (*Safety of Religion*) was a title of honour probably given by his family; when he was made vizier of Egypt, he took, as was the custom, another title of honour, Malek-en-Nasser (*Victorious King*). The full name of Noor-ed-deen, in like manner, was Mahmood Noor-ed-deen Malek-el-Adel. Family names are unknown in the East, as they were in ancient Greece.

tribution he committed to Ibn Mokaddem, who had put the city into his hands.\* The emir helped himself first, but he did not venture to fill his hand. Saladin surprised asked the cause: he laughed and said, that one time when grapes were being distributed, and he helped himself to large handfuls, Noor-ed-deen observed to him, that if he went on in that way there would not be enough for all. "Avarice," said Saladin, "was made for traders, not for kings;" and he desired him to fill his hand, and if that was not enough to put in both. This was very liberal, no doubt, but we know not that it is to be preferred to the strict justice of Noor-ed-deen.

Saladin was of a mild disposition; he bore contradiction patiently, and often let things go unnoticed rather than punish them. One day a Mamlook flung his boot at his comrade, and it fell close by where Saladin was sitting. He turned aside his head, and took no heed of it. In his last illness he called for some warm water; they brought it to him boiling hot; he sent it away, and they brought it to him ice-cold; "God be praised!" said he, "can I not get water as I want it?" Another person in his situation, said the *cadi* Fadal, who was present, and who told the story with tears in his eyes, would have flung the water in the stupid servant's face.

The sultan loved his children, and used to join in their plays. When he came to Damascus, after concluding the peace with the king of England, he had his family brought to him. One of his younger sons, named Emir, was a great favourite, and he frequently played with him. The Christian envoys found him and Emir one day at their play. The child, when he saw men with shaven chins. with short hair, and clad in a strange fashion, began to cry, and Saladin, making excuses, put off the audience to another day. We cannot doubt the truth of this anecdote, but it is curious that nearly the same thing should be told of the Spartan king Agesilaus, and of Henry IV. of France.

"My son," said Saladin to his son Malek-ed-daher, when a little before his death he was sending him to the government of Aleppo,— "my son, honour the Almighty

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\* See p. 373.

God, the author of all good, and obey his commandments, for that will bring thee salvation. Beware of shedding blood, for the blood that is shed slumbereth not. Gain the hearts of thy people, and provide for their welfare, for it is committed unto thee by God, and by me. Gain the hearts of the emirs, and the great men, for it is by mildness alone that I have mounted to the lofty station on which I stand. Hate no one, for death awaits us all. Do injury to no one, for men forgive not till they have taken vengeance; it is God alone, who is merciful, that pardons on simple repentance."

Saladin was an implicit believer in all the dogmas of Islâm, and he hated and punished heretics and innovators. He made all who were about him read their Korâns diligently. Seeing one day a little child reading the Korân to his father, he was melted to tears, and bestowed both money and lands on them.

Like Noor-ed-deen, he was exact in the dispensing of justice. He sat twice a week with the cadis and lawyers. Cases of length and difficulty he considered at his leisure, and "gave sentence as God inspired him." An Armenian merchant cited him one time; he appeared and defended himself, and showed that the merchant was in the wrong; he then gave him a sum of money on account of the good opinion he had had of the equity of himself and his judges. One day when he was about to retire to take some rest, one of his Mamlooks came and presented the petition of some injured person. He begged him to wait till the next day. "I cannot wait," said he, and nearly thrust his paper in the sultan's face. Saladin picked it up, and seeing his demand was just declared it should be satisfied. "Let my lord write it," said the Mamlook. "There is no inkstand," said the sultan, who was sitting in the door of his tent so that no one could go in. "There is one behind thee in the tent," replied he, which was equivalent to telling the prince to get it. "So help me God," said Saladin, turning and looking back, "he says the truth;" and leaning on his left hand, he stretched his right hand and took it, and signed the paper as required. Another time, as he was consulting with his generals, a woman presented a petition. He put her off. "Why," said she, "are you our king, if you will not be



our judge?" She is right," said the sultan; and he immediately went to her, and gave her satisfaction.

Of the generosity and nobleness of mind of Saladin, abundant instances have been given. No man ever was more faithful to his engagements than he, and his word was never broken. Though a zealous Moslem, and therefore hating the Christians as infidels, he was humane and just to them as individuals. When he first became master of Egypt, in compliance with the sterner and purer bigotry of Noor-ed-deen, he deprived the Christians of that country of the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Fatimite khaleefehs, the most tolerant of Moslem princes. They were obliged to wear a peculiar dress, could only ride on asses, could hold no public employment, ring no bells in their churches, or walk in procession on Palm Sunday. The crosses were cast down, and the walls of the churches covered with mire. But as soon as Noor-ed-deen was dead all these vexations ended; and, as before, the Egyptian Christians became the treasurers, secretaries, stewards, etc., of the princes and emirs. This conduct won him their hearts; their eulogies of him were almost higher than those of the Moslems, and, being conveyed to Europe by the Italian traders, probably contributed to augment his fame in the West.

The founder of a dynasty can hardly be exempt from ambition. According to Ibn-el-Athir, Saladin meditated the conquest of the remainder of the Mohammedan East, and thus acquiring a dominion more extensive than that of the house of Seljûk had been. Boha-ed-deen gives us to understand that his views of conquest were even still more extensive. He accompanied Saladin, when after the taking of Kowkab he went down to inspect Ascalon and the cities of the coast. It was winter, and the *cadi* then saw the sea for the first time, when, as the Korân saith, "the waves were rising like mountains," and he said to himself that for the whole world he would not go a mile upon it, and became of the opinion of those who hold that a man who does so should be held to be mad, and his evidence not be admissible in a court of justice. While he was thus meditating, the sultan turned to him and said, "I will tell thee what I am thinking of. When God

shall have put into my hands the rest of the Christian towns, I will divide my dominions among my children, and leave them my last instructions; I will then embark on this sea, and go to subdue the isles and countries of the West: I will not lay down my arms till there is not an infidel on the earth, if death does not seize me before that time."

These words amazed the *cadi*, and he replied, "Of a truth there is not on earth courage, strength of mind, and zeal for religion, like those of the sultan. His courage is shown in that the view of this raging sea stops him not, and as to his zeal, the sultan, not content with driving the enemies of God from one spot of earth, such as Palestine here, would purge the entire earth of them. Nothing doubtless can be nobler than the project of the sultan. It would, however, be better for him to remain here, and to send his armies, for he is the stay of Islâm."—"I make thyself the judge," said Saladin, "which is the most glorious death?"—"Without doubt, that in which one falls in the cause of God."—"Then," said he, "I am right in desiring this kind of death."

"O my God!" subjoins the *cadi*, "thou knowest what his zeal was for the defence of thy religion; thou knowest with what ardour he would have sacrificed himself for thy sake! It was in the hope of enjoying thy mercy. Therefore show thou him mercy!"

To estimate the character of Saladin by the views of it given by his friends, we should pronounce it nearly faultless; but it is indelibly stained, according to European ideas, by his ingratitude to Noor-ed-deen, whose family he deprived of their dominions almost without a pretext. But the sin of the father was visited on the children; for his own brother and mate in arms Malek-el-Adel, the gentle, the tender, and the romantic\* (according to our romancers), did to the sons of Saladin, as Saladin had done to the sons of Noor-ed-deen.

We have already seen† that whatever Saladin's own wishes might have been, he was obliged to bear with the vices and improprieties of those who had aided him in

\* "Malek-el-Adel," says an Oriental writer, "ate enormously, and more than people are in the habit of doing; it is said that he used to eat a young lamb at a single meal."

† See page 37.

the attainment of empire. It is also evident that his Mamlooks enjoyed a great degree of license; and he showed but little prudence in instituting this body of guards, who becoming, like the prætorians at Rome, the Turkish guards at Bagdad, and all body-troops of the kind, the disposers of empire, within half a century after Saladin's death placed one of their own body on his throne.

Viewing Saladin's character on the whole, and judging it by Oriental maxims, as that of a man who rose from a private station to empire, it is well-deserving of praise, though subductions must be made for his treatment of the family of Noor-ed-deen, and the murder (for such it was) of sultan Shower; of that of the khaleefeh we have already given our reasons for supposing him innocent, though we must confess we cannot clear away all grounds of suspicion, and, like so many other dubious points in history, it is likely to remain a problem for ever.

#### CONCLUSION.

**H**AD King Richard, it is said, remained six months longer in the East, the Holy Land might possibly have been recovered, for Saladin died within that space of time, and his family fell into disunion. We doubt if such would have been the case; for the disunion was not very great at first, and Malek-el-Adel, whose talents were little inferior to those of his brother, was still remaining to lead the Moslems. Even had the Holy City been retaken, we cannot think that the Latins, hated by the Oriental Christians, and continually assailed by the Moslems, could have retained the country. We may lay it down as an axiom that dominion never is permanent which is not based on the affections of the people, and that justice and moderation are the only sure modes of attaching subjects to their governors. Never yet were masters less endowed with the requisite qualities for inspiring affection in those under their dominion than the Pullani of Syria.

The crusade which we have just narrated was the last in which armies combated for the possession of the Holy Land upon its own soil. Nine years after the departure of King Richard (1202), an army, led by Baldwin count of Flanders, embarked on board of vessels furnished by the

republic of Venice, but its arms were directed against the Byzantine empire, and it placed its leader on the throne of Constantinople, which was occupied by Latin princes for a space of fifty-seven years.

In the year 1216 an army of crusaders, led by Andrew II., king of Hungary, landed in Syria. A vain attempt was made on the fortress of Mount Tabor, and it was finally deemed the better course to assail the Moslem dominions in Egypt, as, if that country was conquered, Syria would present no difficulty. But the cardinal of Albano, who, as representative of the pope, claimed the chief command, was utterly devoid of military knowledge. He led his army into the country at the very time the Nile was rising; the sultan Malek-el-Kamel, son of Malek-el-Adel, opened the sluices and inundated the country all around them, and to escape destruction the Christians were forced to agree to evacuate the country and to restore the city of Damietta which they had taken. (1221.)

In the year 1228 the emperor Frederic II. collected an army in Apulia with which he sailed to the East. He landed at Acre, and a good deal of courtesy was exchanged between him and sultan Malek-el-Kamel, who, to oblige him, ceded to him Jerusalem and the villages between it and Acre, reserving the mosk of Omar and another place of worship in the Holy City for the Moslems.

St. Louis, king of France, landed (1244) in Egypt, while the son of Malek-el-Kamel occupied the throne. Damietta was abandoned by the Moslems; but when the French advanced into the country they were defeated, and the king and his whole army were obliged to surrender themselves prisoners. They obtained their liberty at the cost of a large ransom. It was a fatal expedition to the grandson of Malek-el-Adel; for the Mamlooks, conscious of their own power, took this occasion to deprive him of life and throne, on which they set one of their own commanders, and thus, fifty-seven years after the death of Saladin, terminated the dynasty of the Eyûbides in Egypt.

This was the last attempt of any importance made for the recovery of the Latin dominion in the East. Owing to the want of union among the Moslem princes, and the effect produced on the Mohammedan world by the irruption into it of the Tatar hordes of Chingis Khan, the Latin



power still prolonged its feeble existence in the towns of the coast ; but in the year 1291 Acre fell beneath the arms of the able Mamlook sultan Bibars. Though crusades to the Holy Land were afterwards talked of in the West, none were ever seriously meditated, and the increase and approximation of the formidable power of the Ottoman Turks soon drew the thoughts of the nations of Europe to the danger that was menacing them at their own doors.

Into the details of the crusades of the thirteenth century it is not our present purpose to enter. Doubtless they contain matter that is highly interesting, and present some of the most remarkable characters of the Middle Ages. The overthrow of the Eastern empire, the invasions of Egypt, the persecution of the Albigenses, the origin and progress of the power of the Tatars, are subjects well calculated to awaken and detain attention, and the characters of such men as the pope Innocent III., the emperor Frederic II., St. Louis, and Chingis Khan, are well deserving of being displayed and studied. But we have only undertaken to give a popular view of the crusades, to exhibit the manners and feelings of those times, and present to view some of the principal characters, both Christian and Moslem, which then appeared on the political stage. For this purpose we have selected a period of about a century, which forms what we may call an epic whole, as it has a beginning, a middle, and an end ; namely, the establishment, duration, and fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem. We have endeavoured to trace causes, exhibit effects, and display characters and manners. We have, as far as we were able, sought to divest ourselves of all prejudice, and to judge men according to the degree of light which they enjoyed ; and hence our censure will often be found moderate, our praise higher perhaps than could justly be bestowed on those whose moral sense had the guides which are given to it at the present day, and in Christian Europe. It is for the young more especially that we have written ; our object has been to interest, and at the same time to instruct them ; and to show that truth may have nearly as many charms to display as fiction. Should our anticipations be verified, should our volume become a favourite with the young, and just conceptions of the nature and causes of these remarkable expeditions be derived from

them, we shall have attained our end, have gained our best and most cheering reward.

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Ere we conclude, we must make a few remarks on the probable influence of the Crusades on the progress of civilization in the kingdoms of the West.

Nothing is more difficult than to state positively what the real consequences of a political measure have been; for we have no means of discovering what would have been the state of things if it had not taken place. Ingenuity has here abundant room to display its powers, and assertion may be combated by assertion, but still all remains mere conjecture. In the present case we find two diametrically opposite opinions advanced; one party ascribing all the good which took place in Europe subsequent to the eleventh century to the Crusades, another representing them as purely and simply mischievous, and obstacles in the way of civilization. Probably here too, as elsewhere, truth lies in the middle; though the Crusades certainly did not produce *all* the good imputed to them, they may have produced *some*; and though it is not just to deprive them of all redeeming qualities, we must concede that they had in them a sufficient alloy of evil to neutralize much of their good. Surely if we believe the affairs of man to be guided and directed by a great moral Power who out of evil brings forth good, we cannot suppose that such great and important events in the history of man as the Crusades could have been without effect in advancing the state of social improvement which was then in progress. Even if their influence was of a retarding nature, it may have been beneficial; for political, like physical, development may go on too rapidly.

Were we to assert any positive benefit which resulted to Europe from these expeditions to Asia, it would be this. They retarded the conquest of the Eastern empire by the Turks. At the time of the First Crusade, the earnest entreaties of the able emperor Alexius to the Western princes for aid prove the danger which his empire was in from the Seljûkian Turks. The victories gained over them by Godfrey and his companions enfeebled them very much; and then the wars of a century with the Latins of the Holy Land gave such ample employment to the Turkish

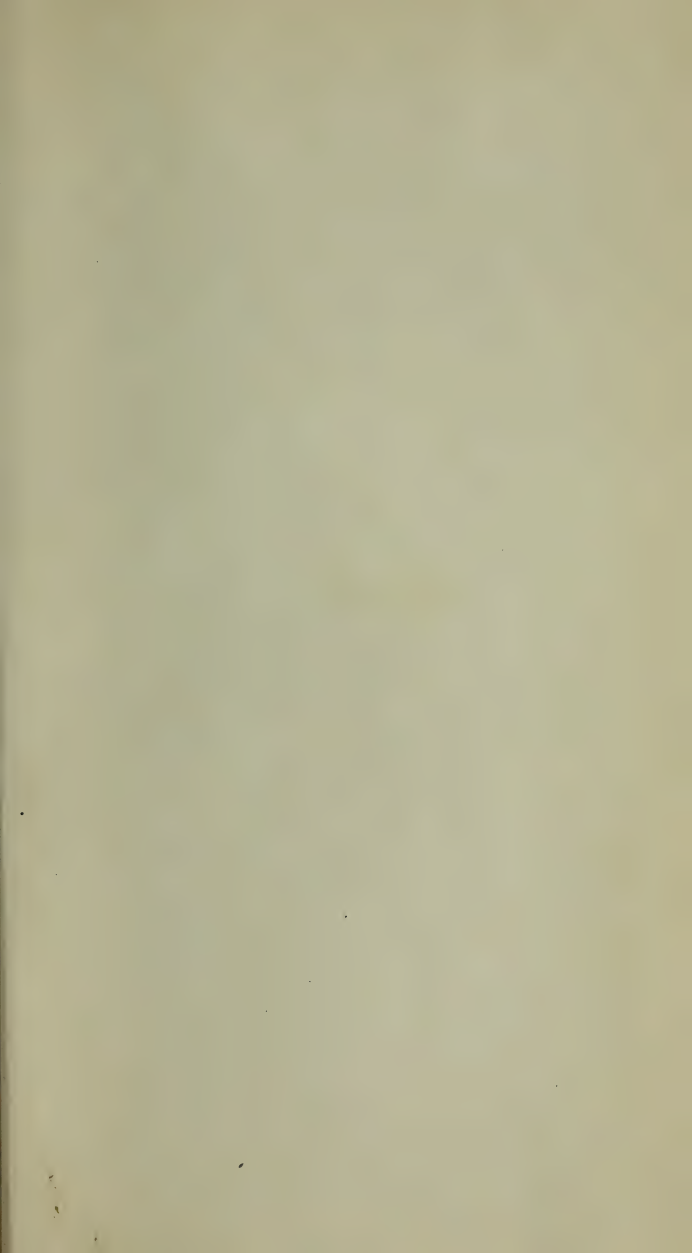
princes, that no plan for uniting their forces for the overthrow of the Greek empire ever could be formed. But had there not been a warlike people established in Syria, to occupy the arms of the Turks, Constantinople, which fell before a small army of Crusaders, might have opened her gates to the Seljûkians in the twelfth instead of to the Ottomans in the fifteenth century; and what might not have been the effects of this entrance of the Mahomedans into Europe at a time when her states were all in a loose and disorganized condition? But it is not for us to penetrate the secrets of Providence; we may only venture to conjecture that the earlier fall of the Byzantine empire might have checked, nay, almost blighted the opening blossoms of social order and civil government.

All things considered, we think we may venture to repeat, though not dogmatically, the observations which we have made in another place,\* on the effects of the Crusades.

“The Crusades, though originating in folly and superstition, and productive of a large quantity of positive suffering to both Europe and Asia, have, in the order of Providence, been also productive of good. They awoke the mind of Europe from its slumber of ignorance and barbarism, by bringing it into contact with the more polished nations of the East; they enlarged the sphere of ideas, gave a taste for elegance and refinement, extended navigation and commerce, and thereby increased the wealth and powers of cities; they diminished the property and influence of the factious and tyrannic nobles, and enlarged the authority of monarchs. The degree of intercourse that prevailed between Europe and Asia, during the period of the Crusades, was far beyond what we usually conceive. It has not become adequately known until very recently.”

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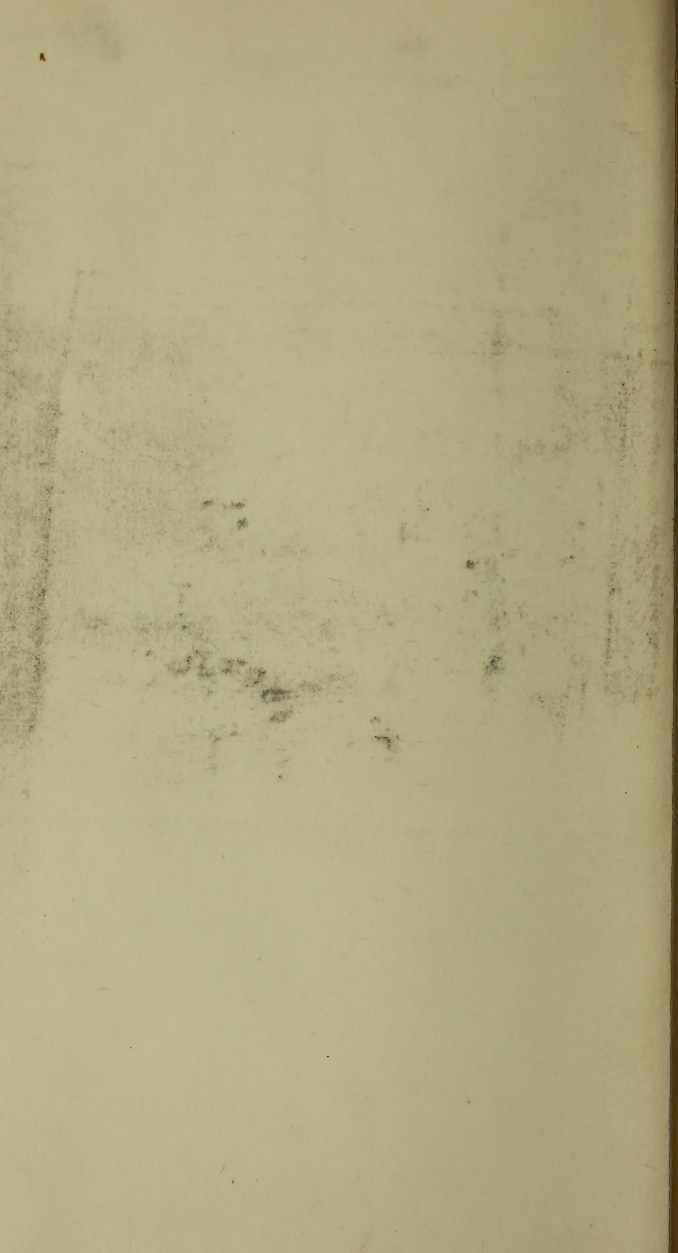
\* Outlines of History, page 259.











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